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The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service*, the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service*.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

I read with considerable amusement and some annoyance your article entitled "Early Planning Pattern Found" by some sissy who signs himself "Author Unknown." (Why doesn't he come out and fight like a man?) The unknown author is apparently also unknowing as far as the functional relation of planning to government is concerned.

Please convey to him my thanks, however, for having Pharaoh drowned in the flood which resulted from the dike's breaking. Usually there is not as happy an ending to the administrative mistakes of modern Pharaohs. I have never known the modern Pharaoh, however, to carry his lack of comprehension to the extent of asking a planning board to design a dike.

It is the custom in many communities to refer to the planning board any matter which nobody else wants to tackle. In a mistaken attempt to ingratiate themselves with the powers that be, many planning boards tackle these odd and alien jobs often with results as disastrous to the community as was the breaking of the dike. In these instances the planning board is to be condemned for accepting the assignment, but the Pharaoh is even more to be condemned for his misuse of the planning board.

Obviously, shoring up a dike is a job for an engineer and the planner that tackles it will probably make as bad a job of it as most engineers would if they tried to develop a comprehensive plan.

Although my program for making unnecessary a dike at Cairo might not include certain of the studies outlined by the planning board of that city, I feel that the proper approach to it would be somewhat similar to that

taken by them. In other words, Pharaoh should have first called in his structural engineers to shore up the dike, then called in his planners to set up a plan for coordinating the agricultural, hydraulic, social and economic activities in the valley of the Nile. Thus the danger of floods at Cairo might have been eliminated and the people of the valley enabled to live such pleasant and lucrative lives that their daughters would not have to go to Cairo to pay off the mortgage on the old homestead.

T. LEDYARD BLAKEMAN, Planner
Princeton, New Jersey

To the Editor:

I do not know to what extent the footnote on page 176 of the April issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW discloses the full extent of your editorial knowledge of the origins of the very amusing article on early planning. In case it has not been brought to your attention through other sources you may be interested in knowing that the article first appeared in the *Engineering News-Record* for January 30, 1941, where it was given in somewhat expanded form with illustrations.

It was published anonymously at that time because the author was still in the employ of the National Resources Planning Board, but both he and the Board have since died. His name was Steve Helburn and he really deserves credit for some excellent satire.

TRACY B. AUGUR
Norris, Tennessee

Thanks to these and other well informed readers. Apologies to the *Engineering News-Record*. We were in the dark on the author's identity and the fact of prior publication.—EDITOR.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Worth Fighting For

Private Alexander W. Beckett is "drafted" as the REVIEW's editorial writer for this month. His letter to the editor of the Yonkers (New York) *Herald Statesman*, republished here, is a significant contribution to the current discussion of the problem of "readjusting" the returning veteran.

Private Beckett lost a leg in Belgium when a high explosive shell burst near him. He was the only member of his patrol to survive.

By way of explanation for those not acquainted with the Yonkers situation: The city has been plagued for years by political spoils machines. The good citizens have won apparent victories over these machines at times only to be frustrated by interparty

deals and by councilmen who went back on their pledges. In March three of the five members of the city council (two of whom had promised they would support him) voted to suspend the notably capable city manager.

Private Beckett's reference to beer hose and sewers harkens back to one of the more odorous tricks of the prohibition era when a Yonkers brewery owned by "Dutch" Schultz smuggled real beer out through fire hose laid in the city's sewer system. The political boss who later acquired the brewery is the same man who, some weeks ago, walked into the manager's office and attempted to dictate appointments. The manager defied him. The manager was suspended.—EDITOR.

TO a wounded veteran returned from the hell of war the prospect of settling in peace in his home town is most important in his own self-rehabilitation program.

Contrary to many so-called experts, the problem of readjustment will not be difficult. The average American citizen-soldier desires only a chance to live decently and in honor among his people. But all of them will fight to prevent the repetition of another horrible war, a war caused by the greed and lust for power of a few.

This sentiment is shared by all of the soldiers with whom I have had the honor to be associated. Most of them seem to have found a new political consciousness, and are interested

in their local government as never before.

"Shooting the Breeze" is one pastime which does not tire a soldier who is forced to remain in bed for months. Consequently the boys discuss everything from Betty Grable's baby to the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. And boys from Philadelphia, Albany, Madison, or even a whistle stop like Wounded Knee, Oklahoma, seem to be agreed on one change that is necessary to a better America.

And that is that politics have to be cleaned out of local government.

I have heard some bitter and unfortunately unprintable remarks passed about the political situation in towns and cities from Maine to California. If only the pork-barrel impresarios and their ward heeler

puppets could sit in on one of those sessions! How their ego would suffer!

The soldiers are agreed that the old time political machines are detrimental to progress and an insult to the intelligence of Americans.

Recently I came back to America, and my joy at seeing the shores of this wonderful land is difficult to describe. I was banged up a little by a German royal tiger tank, but my injuries did not prevent me from reading the *Herald Statesman*.

At Halloran General Hospital in Staten Island, and later at this hospital, I have had an opportunity again to get a glimpse of the doings of Yonkers. And what a disappointment!

I had an idea that when I returned the good work done by the citizens would have borne fruit and the old regime of beer hose fame would have been driven back to the sewers!

But it would seem that I, along with thousands of others in Yonkers, have been kidding myself. The old gang is still in there pitching. And pitching strikes. They are doing a wonderful job of discrediting the

manager form of government.

The latest move by Sullivan, Sheridan and Whalen in ousting Mr. Montgomery is part of the grand strategy planned to create confusion in the minds of the voters at the coming election. I could almost write the future speeches of the two political parties now.

The action of the trio is a challenge to the people of Yonkers. It is a challenge that should be accepted. We who sailed to fight the greatest military machine in world history accepted a challenge. Current news shows how that turned out.

Now is the time for the citizens to leap out of the lethargy which has permitted the political triumvirate to strike boldly.

At the coming election men or women should be elected who will give the manager form of government a chance. It has not had a decent opportunity as yet. This, too, is worth fighting for.

ALEXANDER W. BECKETT

England General Hospital,
Atlantic City

Opportunity Knocks for Michigan

MICHIGAN faces an opportunity to modernize its state legislature which comes to few states. One year ago, following the disclosure of improper practices in the legislature, the governor of Michigan appointed a committee to study legislative procedure and suggest improvements. Recently a subcommittee was appointed to study the one-chamber legislature. The strength of meaningless tradition is so great that it appears to take a major scandal or the

inspiration of a great leader to make it clear that governmental affairs have lagged far behind not only normal progress but the positive desires of the people for better conduct of the public's business.

While some of the imperfections of the bicameral legislature are fresh in the public mind, it is to be hoped something substantial in the way of improvement will be attempted. Opportunity comes even less frequently than lightning strikes.

Apprentices in Citizenship

Course in politics sends Syracuse University students out into real life "laboratory" as doorbell-ringing assistants to party district leaders and aids to local civic groups.

By MARGUERITE J. FISHER*

TOO often training in "citizenship" has been based on the assumption that knowledge about government automatically results in active participation in the democratic process. This fallacy has been particularly evident on the college level. Courses in "Citizenship," "Problems of American Democracy," and the like, are generally confined to the presentation of subject material through lectures and readings, but only rarely is an effort made by either the instructor or the students to apply this material in actual experience.

Pedagogical experts have for years been telling us that the best way to learn is by "doing," and the laboratory sciences have long based their teaching techniques on this principle. Such methods, however, are generally distinguished by their absence in the teaching of government and democracy in the colleges. College teachers in the latter field have not

seemed to appreciate that knowledge is often sterile unless accompanied by a drive to act and actual training in the desired action.

To provide practical citizenship experience for students in a college course in American politics offered by Syracuse University, various projects have been worked out which are now requirements. During the year the students participate in a series of laboratory experiences in as many fields of citizen action as are feasible. It should be noted that this course is designed for upper-class students who have had little or no work in standard government courses.

First of all, each student is required to do twelve hours of practical political work in the party of his or her choice during the month preceding the annual fall election. After the student has chosen his party he applies to a local party official who is familiar with the purpose of the project. This official has a list of election district committeemen and committeewomen who are willing to use the students as assistants. Each student is assigned to such an election district leader. The leader plans a schedule for the student which must include at least six hours of work at the polls on registration days and election day and three hours of canvassing or "door-bell ringing" in the given district. The student may work longer than this but nine hours are

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required as a minimum. After the campaign is over the election district leader sends in a report on the character and quality of work performed by the student assistant so that the instructor may check on the student's work.

Political Party Work

As the reader might surmise it was difficult at the outset to persuade some of the election district leaders to take the students as assistants. Or, if they did accept them, they were unwilling to entrust them with responsible tasks. Some leaders looked askance at the prospect of "snooping" college students invading the premises sacred to seasoned party workers. Fortunately, however, invaluable assistance in overcoming this attitude was rendered by two prominent local political leaders who understood and sympathized with the aims of the experiment. They called in some of their election district leaders, explained the project to them, and pointed out that here was a chance to get some useful help during the campaign, help which would not have to be paid for.

The first year the students were on trial and the election district leaders cooperated with mental reservations. They soon came to see, however, that the students could offer valuable help, and since the first year there has been no difficulty in finding party workers who are ready to cooperate. In fact, during the last presidential campaign the instructor was deluged with calls from Republican and Democratic workers who wanted student assistants.

Each year student workers have

been entrusted with more responsible tasks. On registration and election days they sit at the polling places, armed with lists of party members whom they check off as they come in to vote. As the day wanes they are sent out to contact the dilatory voter at his home, with instructions to mind the baby or watch the dinner while the housewife goes to vote. Until the advent of gasoline rationing some students drove cars to bring voters to the polls. In some districts they have been allowed to serve as party watchers or challengers after preliminary coaching by party workers. The instructor well remembers the smug superiority of several co-eds who came to class last November 2 decorated with official watchers' certificates and badges.

Partly because of the manpower shortage, two co-eds were given more responsible jobs in the last election than anyone in the course had previously attained. One girl who lived in the city was asked to serve as Democratic committeewoman for her district, and a second girl was given the job of election inspector after the regular inspector had fallen down and broken her leg just before registration day. Needless to say, both girls were duly impressed by their rapid rise in politics. The girl serving as Democratic committeewoman is continuing in the post and is already making plans to build up the party in her district with the aid of all the student assistants she can get from next year's class.

Both the major parties now make use of the students in canvassing. The apprentice canvassers meet in

advance with a party worker who coaches them in the correct things to say and do when they go out to ring doorbells. Since the students look young and innocent, housewives are inclined to assume a maternal attitude and ask them to come in.

In addition to the nine hours of party activity outlined above at least three hours of work at party headquarters is required of each student. A party official is apprised of their impending appearance. He assigns them to tasks which include answering telephones, operating an information bureau for first voters, running errands, delivering messages and, most important of all, at one of the party headquarters the students have been put in charge of a demonstration voting machine. At certain hours each day they explain the voting machine to new voters, timid housewives and anyone who wishes to brush up on the operation of the machine, which still appears formidable to many citizens.

In addition to the twelve hours of party work each student is required to attend four political rallies or campaign meetings not more than two of which may be in one party. These meetings are written up in a term paper in which the arguments of the speakers are subjected to analysis and comparison. Since 1944 was a presidential year there were a number of major rallies available for the class, including a personal appearance by Republican candidate Thomas E. Dewey. The students were asked to serve as ushers at some of the larger rallies and as a reward a special bloc of seats labelled "Polit-

ical Science 99" was reserved for them in the front of the auditorium. The highlight of the campaign meetings last fall, from the students' point of view, was an invitation to meet Governor and Mrs. Dewey personally after the rally.

Experience with Civic Groups

The laboratory experience during the first half of the course is confined to work for the political parties in connection with the fall election. During the second semester, however, other types of citizen experience are assigned as projects. For several years the Syracuse League of Women Voters has furnished a laboratory for participation in a civic organization. Inasmuch as the draft law has now resulted in a class of all girls this organization has provided a convenient outlet. Last year each student took part in a project involving the "broad-sides" which were being distributed by the League. These broadsides are single-page discussions of vital public questions written in popular language. Each student was required to get together a group of eight to ten people and to distribute the broadsides regularly to each member of the group. After each broadside came out the student organized an informal discussion meeting on the topic involved. This was the type of group activity the League of Women Voters hoped to stimulate through the publication and distribution of the broadsides.

As part of its educational activity in connection with a campaign for a county manager charter several years ago, the Syracuse League of Women Voters published its own broadside

summarizing the advantages of this type of county government. Students from the class were stationed in rotating squads in a booth at a downtown department store, handing out the broadside and answering questions from the public concerning the proposed county manager charter.

This year another project has been organized with League of Women Voters' cooperation. The League is now engaged in a nation-wide campaign to stimulate public understanding of the Dumbarton Oaks proposal for postwar international organization. The Syracuse League has set up a speakers bureau and league members are trained to deliver brief talks on Dumbarton Oaks to clubs, church groups and other meetings of citizens. The students are participating in this program. They prepare their talks on Dumbarton Oaks and then appear before women's groups to lead a discussion on the subject. On such occasions they appear as representatives of the local League of Women Voters.

Local Governing Bodies

During the year each student is required to attend several meetings of the city council and the county board of supervisors. When there is a meeting of special importance or a public hearing the class usually attends as a body. Several years ago the board of supervisors scheduled an important public hearing on the type of civil service system to be established by the county. The hearing was an occasion of some prominence and representatives of civic groups and individual citizens appeared to make statements before the as-

sembled supervisors. The class had studied the problem in advance and elected one of its members to prepare a statement of recommendations. The co-ed elected to carry out this task applied to the supervisors for permission to make a statement at the hearing. Inasmuch as she was a citizen of the county and old enough to vote her request was granted.

Acting on the assumption that one of the causes of civic indifference is the average person's ignorance of the administration of his local government, one of the projects assigned during the second half of the course is a "survey" of various branches of the city and county governments. The class is divided into committees of four or five students and each committee is assigned to study some department of the local government. Suppose, for example, the health department is selected. After doing the necessary background reading on public health administration the committee prepares a list of questions aimed at bringing out facts concerning the operation of the local health department. Armed with these questions, the student committee visits the health department for a series of interviews with various officials. The instructor has previously explained to the department the purpose of the project and thus insured sympathetic cooperation. In the course of the interviews the committee is taken on a tour of the laboratories and other points of interest in the department. Detailed notes are taken during the interviews and afterwards each student writes a report of some ten to fifteen typewritten pages, describing

the work of the department and appraising its administration in comparison with standards of good practice as outlined in their preliminary reading.

Last year the class made such a survey of various branches of the county government, using as a guide the League of Women Voters' pamphlet, *Know Your County*. After the student reports were handed in the results were put together and mimeographed as a booklet describing the organization and operation of the county government.

Letters to Legislators

The "good citizen" is supposed to keep informed about legislation being considered by Congress, the state legislature and local governing bodies. But he should also be moved at times to make his voice heard either for or against impending legislation. It has been pointed out with tedious monotony that if the alert citizens wrote more letters to legislators the selfish pressure groups would not have things so much their own way. As some one has said, the cure for bloc pressure lies in pressure by informed citizens acting in the general interest rather than for special interests.

But how many citizens without a selfish axe to grind bother to go to the trouble of writing a letter to their representatives? To give each student some experience along this line, each year the class selects some bill pending either in Congress or the state legislature. After studying the back-

ground of the proposed legislation, each student is required to write a letter to his or her legislator requesting that he vote for or against the bill, depending on the conclusion to which the student has come after studying the merits of the question. The average student approaches the prospect of a first letter to a congressman or state legislator with awe and trepidation. After the ice has once been broken, however, some of the students have not only continued to write letters on other bills but also have hounded parents and relatives to write letters. In one case a co-ed who objected strenuously to a certain bill inveigled all her sorority sisters into writing letters to their surprised state assemblymen.

The various projects outlined above represent some effort to furnish laboratory experience in activities commonly involved in the democratic process. Citizenship in our urban industrial society has become sufficiently complicated to require apprentice training, involving not only book-learning but actual experience and practice. Marguerite M. Wells, former president of the National League of Women Voters, once pointed out that citizens are often not so indifferent or irresponsible as they are confused and bewildered, not knowing what to do about the problems which beset them. To help them meet this problem our college training would do well to provide some actual experience and apprenticeship as well as factual information.

States Profit in Liquor Trade

Sixteen which use monopoly system add \$96,000,000 to revenues in one year—five per cent of total incomes; dangers seen in pressure group demands for earmarking.

By LEWIS B. SIMS*

PUBLICLY operated businesses often are commercial activities essential to the population but not sufficiently profitable to attract private capital. Not so the sixteen state liquor enterprises. Here state government operation is merely an alternative to public regulation.

Some idea of the relative importance of state alcoholic beverage monopoly systems may be gathered by making three comparisons. First, as to state general revenue: The amount contributed by the sixteen monopoly systems to their respective state governments, totalling \$96,000,000 in 1943, accounted for 4.7 per cent of the total revenue of the sixteen states and over 1.5 per cent of the revenue of the 48 states.¹ Second, as to other enterprises: The operating revenue (sales of goods) of the sixteen monopolies is about

the same as the total operating revenue of all enterprises of the 92 cities having populations over 100,000 and is considerably more than twice as great as the operating revenue of all the water supply systems of the same group of cities. Third, as to volume of sales: The dollar volume of sales now is equal to almost a fifth of the dollar sales of all the chain stores in the sixteen monopoly states in the peacetime year 1939.²

State alcoholic beverage monopoly systems are relatively young. When in December 1933 the 21st amendment to the federal constitution was ratified, repealing the eighteenth amendment, state governments set about to devise methods of controlling the liquor traffic. Sixteen states went directly into commercial enterprise, establishing state-owned and state-operated systems for dispensing alcoholic beverages. This method of control was outlined in the Fosdick-Scott report and recommended in January 1934 by the National Municipal League.³ Another state, North Carolina, established a system of county-operated stores under state supervision in those counties voting therefor.

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¹Bureau of the Census, "State Alcoholic Beverage Monopoly Finances in 1943," *State Finances: 1943*, Vol. 2, No. 5, October 1943.

²See Bureau of the Census, *Retail Trade: 1939*, Part 1, Table 11B, p. 122.

³Frank O. Lowden, Luther Gulick, et al., "Liquor Control: Principles—Model Law," Supplement to the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, January 1934.

Public liquor enterprises are unique. It may be well, therefore, to set down here some of their characteristics:

They are highly profitable, they contribute heavily to state general revenue, they have little fixed plant or equipment, they require only a small number of employees and hence have small payrolls relative to the volume of business conducted, they are monopolistic by definition, they are limited almost exclusively to the state level of government,⁴ they deal almost entirely on a cash basis and tend to have but few accounts receivable, they have no long-term debt, they are retail establishments rather than wholesale or service establishments (except in Wyoming which engages only in wholesale trade), they dominate the enterprise group on the state level, being fiscally many times as important as all other state enterprises combined, they constitute an alternative to state regulation and taxation of privately owned liquor business.

Monopoly Profits

The net income or "profits" of the sixteen state liquor systems increased by over one-quarter from 1942 to 1943—to \$108,000,000. The two outstanding factors making for this extraordinary prosperity are: the increased sale—and presumably consumption—of liquor goods in the monopoly states and the higher retail prices of such goods.

⁴Such businesses are maintained by 33 county governments (26 in North Carolina, six in Maryland, and one in Georgia), with a total operating revenue of \$7,660,000. A similar system is currently under consideration in Prince Georges County, Maryland.

Of the states other than Idaho (for which complete 1943 data are not centrally available) thirteen had greater profits and only two, Iowa and West Virginia, had smaller profits in 1943 than in 1942. Alabama evidenced the greatest increase, 74 per cent, not only because of stepped-up, war-induced industry and the concurrent increase in population but also because the Alabama monopoly system closed its fiscal year on December 31, 1942, before liquor shortages were felt at all. Next in line is Utah with an increase of 53 per cent.

Generally speaking, it may be said that a monopoly system turns over its net income to the general government of the state. The transaction is not quite that simple, however, primarily because of lags in transfer (occasionally accounting lags also) and because of the building up or depletion of surpluses. Thus, the annual contributions from a monopoly system to the general government almost always differ somewhat from the system's annual profit. In only two states in 1943, Ohio and Virginia, did the monopoly contribute to the state general government an amount larger than the monopoly's profit for that year. The Pennsylvania monopoly turned over to the general government the exact amount of its profit.

Income and Expenses

Virtually all income received by the liquor monopolies is accounted for by sales of goods, which from 1942 to 1943 increased almost 40 per cent, as shown in Table I. In the increase is reflected the intensified demand created by the influx of population into war production areas

TABLE I
SALES OF GOODS, COST OF GOODS SOLD AND NET INCOME OF THE SIXTEEN STATE ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE MONOPOLY SYSTEMS, BY STATES: 1943 AND 1942
(Dollar amounts in thousands except per capita)

State	Date of close of fiscal year of system ^a	Sales of Goods			Cost of Goods Sold			Net Income ^b		
		1943	1942	1943 as a per cent of 1942	1943	1942	1943 as a per cent of 1942	1943	1942	1943 as a per cent of 1942
16-State total		\$512,252	\$368,930	138.8	\$383,171	\$265,516	144.3	\$108,347	\$84,354	128.4
14-State total ^c		427,674	315,520	135.5	318,377	226,246	140.7	90,146	71,673	125.8
Alabama ^{a, g}		27,301	14,914	183.1	18,689	10,009	186.7	7,400	4,263	173.6
Idaho ^h	Dec. 31, 1941 ⁱ	4,040	4,040	—	2,692	2,692	—	1,348	1,348	—
Iowa	Dec. 31, 1941	20,269	18,699	108.4	14,960	13,168	113.6	4,251	4,583	92.8
Maine	June 30, 1943	13,559	9,391	144.4	9,251	6,067	152.5	3,969	2,978	133.3
Michigan	June 30, 1943	80,538	49,370	*163.1	62,102	*36,578	*169.8	16,853	*11,333	*148.7
Montana ^{a, g}	June 30, 1943	8,479	7,104	119.4	5,901	4,718	125.1	1,999	1,537	130.1
Dec. 31, 1942		8,121	7,104	114.4	5,001	4,286	135.5	1,856	1,623	114.4
New Hampshire	June 30, 1943	84,840	61,359	138.3	68,206	47,918	142.3	13,585	10,585	128.3
Ohio ^g	Dec. 31, 1942	22,846	13,925	164.1	16,208	9,166	176.8	6,032	4,151	145.3
Oregon	June 30, 1943	139,136	107,060	130.0	105,943	78,848	134.4	25,659	21,192	121.1
Pennsylvania	May 31, 1943	9,253	5,820	159.0	6,255	3,764	165.6	2,519	1,646	153.0
Utah	June 30, 1943	3,254	2,456	132.5	2,947	2,193	134.4	224	190	117.9
Vermont	June 30, 1943	43,475	29,817	145.8	31,329	20,323	154.2	10,617	8,117	130.8
Virginia	June 30, 1943	25,047	18,112	138.3	17,575	12,233	143.7	6,635	5,035	131.8
Washington ^{a, g}	Sept. 30, 1942	19,321	18,550	104.2	12,969	11,891	109.1	5,095	5,500	92.6
West Virginia	June 30, 1943	2,773	1,959	141.6	2,358	1,662	141.9	305	273	111.7
Wyoming ^g	Sept. 30, 1942									

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census, *State Finances: 1943*, Vol. 2, No. 5, page 1.
^aThe fiscal years of the alcoholic beverage monopoly systems of three states end on dates different from the fiscal years of the general government, which end as follows: Alabama, September 30, 1942; Montana, June 30, 1943; and Washington, March 31, 1943.

^bIncome and expense data used to arrive at net income are shown in detail in Bureau of the Census, "State Alcoholic Beverage Monopoly Finances in 1943," *State Finances: 1943*, Vol. 2, No. 5.

^cPer capita are based upon the estimated civilian population as of March 1, 1943.

^dComposed of 1943 data for fifteen states and 1941 data for Idaho. See footnote h.

^eComposed of 1942 data for fourteen states and 1941 data for Idaho and Michigan. See footnotes h and j.

^fExcludes data for Idaho and Michigan. See footnotes h and j.

^gData for these five states are for the fiscal year ended in the latter half of the preceding calendar year because statistics contained in the Bureau of the Census series on *State Finances* are for the most recent fiscal years ending between July 1 and the following June 30, which conforms to the practice of the great majority of states.

^hFor both 1943 and 1942 data for the fiscal year ended December 31, 1941, are used; 1943 data were not available when compilation was made.

ⁱSee footnote h. Effective July 1, 1942, the date of close of Idaho's fiscal year was changed from December 31 to June 30.

and military centers of those states in which most of the larger monopolies are located. Several of the state monopolies adopted their own rationing plans in an effort to conserve stock and assure just distribution. Apparently if the supply of liquor goods had been ample monopoly income would have been even greater in 1943 than it was. Every state showed an increase in income from sales of goods.

Cost of goods sold by the monopolies rose more than 40 per cent in 1943. No data are available to indicate the turnover of merchandise, but the increase reflects to a great extent the monopolies' payments of the new federal taxes, as well as the rise in distillery prices resulting chiefly from the fact that ceiling prices (as of March 1942 but made effective in May 1942) were in effect during the entire 1943 fiscal year for most states, whereas less than ceiling prices were in effect during much of the previous fiscal year.

Owing to the nature of the business operating expenses for alcoholic-beverage monopolies constitute a lower proportion of total costs than for any other state enterprise. These costs, however, increased one-tenth primarily because of salary increases granted employees.

The outstanding balance-sheet characteristic of the state alcoholic beverage monopolies, as compared with other publicly operated enterprises, is the high proportion of current assets to total assets. Because the state operated systems are primarily designed for retail selling, plant and equipment constitute only a negligible portion of their assets.

For this reason no long-term debt has been incurred for any system.

Reflecting the monopolies' difficulty in replenishing their stock was a 15 per cent decline in the value of inventory—a decline which only partially represented the depletion of merchandise since the mark-up resulting from federal taxes paid by the monopoly systems and from higher distillery prices inflated the 1943 inventory figure.

General Revenue from Liquor

Contributions from the monopoly systems amounted to \$96,000,000 in 1943, rising 25 per cent from the previous year. As shown in Table II the sixteen states operating monopolies also received alcoholic beverage revenue from selective sales taxes and licenses.⁵ Of this amount, which was only 6 per cent less than the revenue received from the monopolies, four-fifths was produced by selective sales taxes and the remainder by licenses. The combined revenue from these two sources increased almost 10 per cent from 1942 to 1943, the rise being occasioned by the increase in alcoholic beverage sales taxes, with a virtually unchanged return from licenses.

Total revenue from these three main alcoholic beverage sources for the sixteen state governments⁶ was 18 per cent greater than in the preceding year and accounted for more

⁵The amount derived from alcoholic beverage sources which is contained in state general revenue from general sales taxes, property taxes on plant and equipment, corporation income taxes, unemployment compensation taxes, etc., is not separable.

⁶The federal government and some local governments also exact revenue from the liquor trade.

TABLE II
STATE GENERAL REVENUE FROM MAIN ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE SOURCES: 1937-1943
(In Millions)

Year	Total	Contributions Received from Alcoholic Beverage Monopoly Systems	Alcoholic Beverage Sales Taxes	Licenses on Alcoholic Beverage Businesses
1943	\$431	\$96	\$280	\$55
1942	388	76	256	56
1941	340	68	216	56
1940	318	63	193	62
1939	279	51	174	54
1938	280	53	175	52
1937	272	51	177	44

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census, *State Finances: 1943*, Vol. 2, No. 5, page 5.

than two-fifths of the total general revenue of the 48 states from alcoholic beverage sources. This is of interest since the total civilian population of the sixteen states constitutes less than one-third of the total population of the 48 states. Revenue from alcoholic beverage sources for the 32 state governments without monopoly systems amounted to \$245,000,000, of which 85 per cent was derived from selective sales taxes and the remainder from licenses. Revenue from these two sources increased 7 per cent, the rise consisting entirely of a greater return from selective sales taxes.

General revenue of the 48 states from the three sources combined has grown considerably in the past several years. In 1937 the combined total was \$272,000,000, whereas in 1943 it was \$431,000,000. Monopoly contributions and alcoholic beverage sales taxes accounted for the rise, for licenses have remained relatively stable.

Social Control

No reliable quantitative data are available regarding the extent to which the monopoly method has accomplished its main purpose—more

effective regulation of the liquor trade and better control of liquor consumption than under the licensing method. Statistics compiled by the Bureau of Business Research of the University of Kentucky⁷ in 1941 indicated that, on a per capita basis, consumption of hard liquors was slightly less in the monopoly states, which lends a modicum of support to the contention, usually made by advocates of the monopoly method, that such control promotes the substitution of lighter beverages for spirituous liquor.

A perusal of the annual reports of the sixteen state monopoly systems since their adoption—a total of well over a hundred reports—offers at least some indication that social control is on the minds of those in charge of the systems. An outstanding case is that of the Washington State Liquor Control Board whose 1937 report asserts: "The pri-

(Continued on page 229)

⁷Glenn D. Morrow and Orba F. Traylor, *State Liquor Monopoly or Private Licensing?* Bureau of Business Research, University of Kentucky, 1942, pp. 60-61. More recent data published by the Distilled Spirits Institute tend to bear out the same conclusion.

Cleveland Plans on Area Basis

City, county and suburban communities all represented on Greater Cleveland Postwar Planning Council which seeks to preserve local autonomy by neighborly cooperation.

By CHRISTIAN L. LARSEN*

UNTIL recently Topsy has had nothing on the more than one hundred units of government constituting the Cleveland-Cuyahoga County metropolitan region—they just grew. Of course, many never should have been established and the development of the rest should have been guided towards meeting the needs of the area in the best possible way. There has been no lack of planning commissions, but there has been an absence of financial support, of trained personnel and of appreciation of the importance of planning.

In this area today, however, people have become "plan conscious" and planning is receiving more serious attention than ever before. While metropolitan Cleveland may have an unemployment problem during reconversion, it is not anticipated that there will be any qualified planners among the unemployed.

Even assuming that each governmental jurisdiction of the hundred local units has adequate planning machinery, which is not the case, there is still the problem of making

plans fit into one coordinated plan for the entire metropolitan region.

The present emphasis upon planning received its first impetus from the Cleveland Regional Association, a private organization created in 1937. Its basic assumption has been that before regional planning can be achieved the people must be educated to thinking in terms of the region as a whole. Hence, it has made and published numerous reports on problems of the region and has promoted unofficial cooperation among the local governments.

In the field of active collaboration the Regional Association has called two conferences of municipal and county officials concerned with planning to encourage joint thinking on planning problems. These officials have been supplied with a manual on local planning procedure prepared by the association based upon Ohio statutes. The association still is in existence but it has difficulty in finding trained personnel for continued usefulness.

The next major support for planning came from a public agency, the revitalized planning commission of Cleveland. For years the city's charter had contained a requirement for a city plan commission with power to "advise and recommend" on matters relating to works of art, public buildings, bridges, streets, parks and the like, and to prepare plans for the future physical develop-

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ment and improvement of the city. No one was required to ask the commission's advice on these matters, however, nor to follow any recommendations which it might make. So, too much of Cleveland's development was of an unplanned, haphazard variety.

Mayor Appoints Committee

Planning became an issue in the mayoralty campaign of 1941. The Democratic candidate, successful in the election, stressed the need for a more intelligent approach to the problem. Undoubtedly more heat than light was generated by the candidates' exchanges on master plans and such but public interest was stimulated. In the early months of his administration Mayor Lausche¹ appointed a committee of local citizens to study the situation and to make recommendations.

Planning experts from all parts of the country were called before this committee. These experts presented nothing startlingly new to people already familiar with planning literature, but the resulting publicity served further to stimulate community interest. A report to the mayor formed the basis for a proposed charter amendment, approved by the voters in November 1942, on city planning in Cleveland.

Cleveland now has a planning commission of seven members. Six are appointed by the mayor without council approval for six-year terms. The seventh is a councilman, chosen by the council for a two-year term. Councilmanic representation was intended to promote harmony between

planning commission and council, and a greater readiness on the part of council to approve planning commission recommendations. The idea was that the planning commission would always have a member in council. To many observers it seems that the development has been the reverse—the city council always has a member on the planning commission to keep it within proper bounds. Obviously, the success of the arrangement depends upon the type of councilman chosen.

Cleveland's charter makes it the duty of the planning commission to make a general plan for the city and more immediate plans for specific improvements and projects deemed desirable. By June 1 of each year it must present to the mayor a recommended capital improvement budget for the following year and a comprehensive five-year capital improvement program.

Contrary to the impression of many this reorganized commission has no power to put its plans into effect. This can be done only by the council, the mayor and other administrative agencies. In this respect the new commission occupies the same position as did the old. Because the present planning commission has greater prestige, however, and a much larger budget than did its predecessor, its recommendations have greater chance of acceptance.

A provision for mandatory reference gives the reorganized commission an additional advantage. All ordinances and resolutions of city council and all acts or orders of any administrative official or agency

¹Now governor of Ohio.

which affect the city plan, public property, land use, zoning or any public improvement, before going into effect shall be submitted to the planning commission for report and recommendation. The commission may disapprove of the proposed actions within 30 days. This disapproval can be overridden only by a two-thirds vote of the council or of the administrative agency having jurisdiction over the matter.

Administrative Organization

Cleveland has a planning director in charge of administration of policies laid down by the planning commission. He is appointed by the mayor for an indefinite term upon nomination by the commission, and may be removed by the mayor with the concurrence of a majority of the commission. Technical and office personnel, within the limits of council appropriation, are nominated by the director and appointed by the commission. As anticipated Cleveland's staff of planning technicians has expanded greatly during the past two years.

There is a planning expeditor in the mayor's office. This is not required by the charter but proved advisable because the planning commission is out of the line of responsibility between the mayor and the departments which give effect to the commission's recommendations. The planners make recommendations as to when things should be done as well as what should be done. Beyond calling attention to the matter again, however, they can do nothing if departmental administrators permit the time limit to expire without taking action. An inquiry from a

person directly representing the mayor is usually more effective.

In order to keep the professional planners in touch with the people, Cleveland's charter provides for a citizen advisory committee. There are no specific provisions as to the number and type of members but some 50 civic, professional, labor and business groups are represented. These members were suggested by the organizations themselves, nominated by the planning commission and appointed by the mayor. The committee works through subcommittees on particular subjects such as urban rehabilitation, downtown parking, recreation, smoke abatement and the like. Of course, there is no legal requirement that the planning commission heed the suggestions of these citizen groups, but they are sought eagerly and considered carefully since it is realized that the adoption and successful administration of plans depend upon citizen support. This is true particularly in making neighborhood plans. Such plans are made in cooperation with the existing citizen organizations of the neighborhood. If there are none the planning commission seeks to organize them.

As a counterpart of the advisory committee representing citizen groups, the charter provides for a coordinating board to represent official agencies. The members are the mayor, city department heads and representatives of such other official agencies as the planning commission shall invite. These invited members represent the Metropolitan Housing Authority, Board of Education, Public Library Board, Metropolitan

Park Board, Transit Commission and suburban, county, state and federal agencies located in this area.

Except for the Regional Planning Association, a private organization, all planning machinery mentioned thus far is a part of Cleveland's government. What, then, is done about planning beyond Cleveland's boundary lines? Statements in the charter authorize the Cleveland planning commission to extend its interests and activities beyond the city boundaries. The charter authorizes planning for the "community," for "the city and surrounding area" and for "any area outside of the city which, in the judgment of the commission, bears relation to the planning of the city." Obviously, the authorities of these outside areas do not have to approve of or put into effect such planning. Nevertheless, planning for such matters as public transportation can be done satisfactorily only on an area basis.

The one major completed planning project by Cleveland outside of its own boundaries is the study of congested wartime conditions in the airport region, caused by the proximity of two large war plants. The commission collaborated with a committee of mayors of the eight municipalities affected. Recommendations were made on transportation, utilities, schools, housing and similar matters. Considerable attention has been given to these recommendations by federal, state and local governmental agencies operating in the area, particularly in allocating priorities for private residential construction.

Beyond Cleveland's boundaries

there are planning commissions of various surrounding municipalities, but they do not have trained technical staffs and at present writing they are unable to find such personnel. In any event, their planning activities, like Cleveland's, are limited by their own boundary lines.

There also is a county planning commission, but it has done no planning in the past. For some years it has turned over a large share of its appropriations to a geodetic survey being conducted in this area. The county commission, however, now desires to become active and has been seeking, unsuccessfully, a planning director. If it should manage to procure a trained technical staff it is thought that the agency might service the municipal agencies without staffs of their own.

Postwar Planning Council

The major interest and activities of the public planning agencies have been centered in physical planning. There must be a realization, however, that physical planning is only part of the picture. Complete and successful planning necessitates attention to social and economic problems too. Numerous agencies, mostly private, are dealing with such matters in this community. Unfortunately, they have been unaware of or uninterested in the work of one another; nearly all have failed to realize that their activities should be coordinated with physical planning, and the physical planners likewise have been negligent of the importance of social and economic planning.

Realizing this, and realizing that if this community is to be ready for

the postwar period with its anticipated public projects planning activities must be hastened and coordinated, community leaders, in July 1943, asked Mayor Lausche to call a meeting to consider what could be done. About two hundred people attended and organized the Postwar Planning Council of Greater Cleveland. The general membership consists of about a hundred organizations in the community which have demonstrated an interest in and a responsibility for the solution of the problems confronting the economic, social and cultural life of the people. The council operates through a board of trustees, an executive committee and a small full-time staff.

Contributions from business, industry and labor finance the work of the planning council. Two of the public planning commissions of this area now are members of the Planning Council.

It must be emphasized that this new agency was not created to do planning for the community. Rather it seeks to assemble, analyze and correlate information on postwar planning, to promote an interest in planning, to make planning information available to all who will use it, to coordinate all planning activities of the community, to determine what planning that ought to be done is not being done and to encourage the proper agency to do it.

The philosophy guiding those most directly in charge of the Council seems to be that the preservation of local self-government necessitates activities of the nature just described. If local governments can demonstrate that they are willing to

assume responsibility for the problems that arise in their areas, and that they are able to deal with them satisfactorily, they have a right to expect to retain control over local affairs. If local governments in a metropolitan area such as Cleveland cannot agree on what they want to do and how to do it, state and national governments are justified in assuming control of local affairs. Even in those activities which ought to be performed by national or state governments a better job will be done if local governments have specific plans to offer.

Problems Studied

No one group is qualified to deal with all the social and economic problems of a community. Therefore, the procedure of the planning council is to create panels, each to deal with one type of problem. Each panel is made up of about fifteen or twenty people qualified by training and experience. Members serve without compensation, making available to the community a combination of knowledge, training and experience for which the community cannot afford to pay.

Panels already are working on problems of transportation, public works, public finance, interracial relations, needs of returning servicemen and labor-management. Others are to be organized as other problems are selected for attention. Definite decisions have been made to establish panels on education, health and welfare, and housing and blighted areas. Cleveland's brief experience with this setup indicates that it locates the bottlenecks interfering with progress more quickly than did

prior arrangements. With many of the governmental administrators themselves serving as members of the panels, attention can be focused on agencies holding up action.

An example of how the Postwar Planning Council may promote a definite decision may be of interest. For years various official and unofficial groups had been discussing plans about the nature and location of a proposed street, but always ending in disagreement. Representatives of interested agencies and groups were called before the transportation panel of the planning council and were told that now they must reach an agreement. When immediate agreement did not result, members of the panel became impatient and publicly took a stand in support of a specific plan—unfortunately, not the best one. However, this hastened the official adoption of a more desirable plan.

Look to the Future

Metropolitan Cleveland has not yet put into effect a perfect arrangement for planning. But during the past few years greater progress has been made with planning than with any other of our regional problems. Much may be expected from the increased awareness of the importance and necessity of planning for the whole area as one community. Much also may be expected from present planning machinery.

Of our planning machinery the reorganized Cleveland Planning Commission, the County Planning Commission, and the Postwar Planning Council of Greater Cleveland hold the greater promise for future planning on a regional basis. The Cleve-

land Planning Commission now is able to serve adequately Cleveland's physical planning needs. In this regard its major handicap at the moment seems to be a rather queer notion of "government ethics" on the part of some of Cleveland's councilmen. Recently the council vetoed a proposal that the route of a proposed new street be changed. One factor which received considerable attention was that the owners of the property through which the original plan would take the new street had been anticipating for some fifteen years selling their property to government for "just compensation," and it wouldn't be fair to disappoint them.

With its authority to plan beyond Cleveland's boundaries, the Cleveland planning agency also could serve all the surrounding area. As a practical matter, however, any agency which is part of Cleveland's municipal government is looked upon with suspicion by people in surrounding suburbs and thereby loses part of its effectiveness.

If the County Planning Commission secures a competent staff, it might become the planning agency of the Cleveland area. It already possesses jurisdiction over rural areas and, if the municipalities consented, the county staff could service them. Under Ohio's constitution municipalities could turn their entire planning function over to the county. Should this county ever get an improved structure of government, perhaps its municipalities would develop sufficient confidence in the county to do this.

The Postwar Planning Council of Greater Cleveland has made a major

contribution in bringing to this community the realization that planning must include the social and economic fields. Not having official connection with any of our existing governments, should it prove as successful as now seems possible, it might develop a pattern for the administration of governmental functions on a regional basis. Not being involved in jealousies and suspicions it is the only agency which can provide some coordination of the activities of all of our governments.

Cleveland's Regional Association, which gave the first needed push to present planning activity, seems destined for a more restricted role in future because of the activities of other agencies. Perhaps it may occupy the role of critic and watchdog of the agencies, making certain that planning is carried on in the interest of the people and not simply in the interest of the professional planners.

The Cleveland area has a great and an immediate need of intelligent planning, particularly in the area recently devastated by fire as a result of a natural gas explosion. Fortunately, recent developments have increased the possibility of meeting this need.

STATES PROFIT IN LIQUOR TRADE

(Continued from page 222)

mary purpose of the Washington State Liquor Act is to promote temperance and minimize the evils con-

nected with the liquor traffic." Later annual reports, including that for 1943, contain almost the same language, and other official statements have emphasized this view. Reports of various other state liquor systems contain policy statements as to social control, though usually they are little more than quotations from the liquor monopoly act.

One danger—a danger that has both social and fiscal significance—is the constant pressure by various well meaning groups to earmark the profits of the state liquor business for one or more specific purposes. The more worthy the purpose the worse is the logic of earmarking. From the social viewpoint earmarking is bad because it tends to promote a lackadaisical attitude by both the public and the liquor control boards toward liquor consumption. From the fiscal viewpoint, of course, earmarking is bad because it ties up wholly unrelated matters and restricts the authority and responsibility of the legislature.

It seems safe to say that social control of the liquor traffic succeeds no worse, and perhaps better, with the state engaging directly in the liquor business. Relatively little criticism now is heard. Hope for improvement lies as much with a state's own citizens as with its liquor board. With proper support from the public the state monopoly method appears to offer more possibilities of liquor control and true temperance than any other method.

By Their Own Bootstraps, IV

Thirty-five governments and representatives of business, professional and labor groups participate in Lane County (Oregon) planning council to integrate regional program.

By WILLIAM M. TUGMAN*

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the final article of a series on efforts of an Oregon city and its neighboring communities to solve their problems and prepare for the future without outside aid. Earlier articles appeared in the REVIEW for September, October and December 1944.

WHERE the facts about local government—or other levels of government—are presented to the citizens regularly, clearly, forcibly, the citizens will show amazing good sense in their votes.

For nearly twenty years the people of Eugene and Lane County, Oregon, have been getting facts—not buried in complex statistical reports or long-winded dissertations or spasmodic muck-raking but on the front page of the daily newspaper with pictures, charts, diagrams.

Again and again some phase of the problem has been explained and discussed—with pictures and wall charts—in nearly every grange, service club, labor union, PTA, veterans' post—this county has more than a thousand organized groups.

To be sure, there is a certain constantly developing "technique" but of that more later. Many of the read-

ers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW will be saying: "That may be fine for a small, relatively homogeneous community, but what about the big polyglot places?"

The first time the writer saw the technique applied was in Cleveland about 1925. The late G. A. Gesell, finance director of the Cleveland school system, spent many months analyzing a terrific debt load which was strangling both operating and construction programs—and of course making an appalling tax rate.

Gesell came up with a rather simple chart which showed that if voters could be persuaded to accept a graduated tax program over a period of years they would come out with less debt, lower taxes and more money for both operating and construction than before.

Gesell persuaded the late Erie Hopwood of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* and Louis Selzer of *The Press* to "give it a try," and the plan carried by a big majority—the real selling was done with front page facts.

Admittedly, it requires years of persistent and continuous effort to get communities to do the things which Lane County's tough-minded County Judge Clint Hurd says "they'd ought to have sense enough to do right in the first place." There are only 43,000 people in the Eugene-Springfield urban area and only 75,000 in the county, but even here it takes a long

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time to alter patterns, habits in public business, and the job is not finished by any means.

Under Oregon budget law every county, city and school district at budget time must call in a Citizens' Budget Committee when the budget is prepared. These committees have usually done a fine job. Now, one of the greatest needs is to get them to bring budgets and projects to a common table so that needs can be compared, first things put first and John Taxpayers saved from knockout punches coming from three different directions. This is one of the jobs the Central Lane Planning Council has undertaken.

Research and Civic Groups Aid

A great many organizations and individuals have given leadership to the accomplishment in this community. The badly under-manned and under-financed Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Oregon has done a great deal of the fact-digging and analysis. Organizational influence, however, distributes somewhat in this fashion:

County: Granges and community clubs, Willamette Valley Lumbermen's Association, veterans' posts, service clubs, unions, newspapers.

Schools: PTA's and community clubs, service clubs, granges, unions, newspapers.

City: Chamber of Commerce and allied groups, unions, service clubs, veterans, newspapers.

Nearly two years ago an organization known as the Central Lane Planning Council was created for the Eugene-Springfield urban area. This is a thickly populated area approxi-

mately six miles square which is rapidly becoming industrial. Since 1940 it has had approximately 25 per cent population increase. The latest ration book check indicates 45,000 people distributed under 35 agencies of local government of which only two are incorporated cities, the rest school districts, fire districts, water districts and county road districts. The Central Lane Planning Council has two major aims: (1) to integrate and coordinate the work of these 35 local agencies; (2) to develop a comprehensive and coordinated postwar program with minimum waste and expense.

Some 70 people participate in this council. The plan of representation is one member appointed from each of the 35 local government agencies; one from each of the major business, professional and labor organizations of the area. Service clubs were not asked to participate as such; it was considered sounder to call for representatives from Chambers of Commerce, Realty Board, Bar Association, medical profession, CIO, AFL, the veterans, women and "bread and butter groups" as such.

In the first year under President Fred Stickels the work was set up under three main divisions, each with a vice president:

1. *Private works.* With assistance of University of Oregon School of Business and Bonneville administration this division has published a detailed survey of industrial and business resources and job forecast. It is now working to organize a large district west of Eugene with planned roads, water, power and other facilities for industrial development.

2. *Public works.* This division has led in organizing and getting voting support for close to \$5,000,000 in cash reserves for important and practical county, city and school projects for the postwar period; it conducts continuing study of tax and debt structures and public projects suggested within area. Combination of hitherto separate Eugene and Springfield sewer and sewage disposal works is now under study, also a "master survey" with a view to integrated area planning.

3. *Veterans.* This division deals with the many difficult problems of personal readjustment and reemployment coming out of war; it has centralized office for employment and veteran problems; it recognizes that civilian readjustments cannot be separated from those of veterans.

Fourteen major committees now work under one or the other of these three divisions, each dealing with some subdivision of the communities' needs—health and sanitation, school integration, parks and recreation, industrial inventory, labor relations (so far mainly an exchange between employers and labor leaders of ideas), tax and debt controls.

The new president of the Council is Elmo Chase, who is also a member of the important Willamette Basin Commission which works with U. S. Army engineers on the \$70,000,000 flood control program in the area.

Without any legal status, dependent entirely upon common sense meeting of minds on common problems, the Central Council has learned a lot of things, some of them the hard way:

1. Its role is advisory; it must not

trespass upon official responsibilities (or dignity);

2. It must study, analyze, recommend but must avoid any appearance of dictating.

So far the work of the Central Lane Planning Council has been supported by some \$5,000 raised jointly by the Eugene and Springfield Chambers of Commerce and there is little doubt its budget will be renewed.

Joint Action Sought

Detailed area planning is difficult on any such basis, but the Council hopes to persuade the cities of Eugene and Springfield, the county of Lane, and the major school and sub-districts of the area to join by contract in financing a central engineering and planning office, supported by pro-rata appropriations in the 1945-46 budgets of each official body. The Central Council has recommended that this be a permanent and continuing planning staff and they have suggested employment of Arthur McVoy of Portland as consultant.

It had been hoped that the legislature would pass an enabling act to give specific authority for just such a joint official planning operation in every urban area of Oregon. The Central Lane Planning Council worked with people from other Oregon cities in drafting the bill. The result was a long and complicated measure which came in late in the session. Groundwork was not well prepared with rural elements. However, the legislature was not unfriendly. It referred the whole problem to a special interim committee and there is reason to hope that intelligent legislation in this field will come

in 1945. In the meantime the Central Lane Council proposes to go ahead locally.

Important Accomplishments

In this community we have learned that great importance attaches not only to presenting facts graphically and simply but to the timing and the manner of approach. These are some illustrations and comparisons:

Eugene School Reorganization—came at one stroke in 1928 because of flagrant conditions which warranted swift, direct attack.

City Manager—required some fifteen years of constant, patient "selling."

Debt Clearance—depression made that an easy job of quick selling, but with constant vigilance against PWA and WPA lures to go back into debt.

Cash Financing—grew out of debt clearance, but first construction reserve levies were small and tentative; major postwar levies possible only in last two years with end of debt in sight.

School Consolidations—when Laurence C. Moffitt became county school superintendent in 1930 there were 193 separate school districts in Lane County. By skillful leadership, he has reduced them to a present 117 and shortly the number should be less than 100, with the possibility that in a few years all schools in Lane County—an area as large as Connecticut—may come into twelve to fourteen major groupings. Latest and most significant was the vote on March 12 which merged seven big suburban districts with Eugene and two with Springfield.¹

Off-street Parking—since 1938 pictures, traffic flow charts, polls to de-

termine the needs and wants of "country trade" have met resistance rooted in "free enterprise" and "do-nothingness." Recently Mayor McNutt appointed a committee to assist in developing a program of land acquisition.

Urban Area Planning—a great deal of down-to-earth education is needed in this field. Maps, pictures, illustrations must be used to convince farmers, real estate operators and many others that intelligent planning of roads and other facilities over broad urban and suburban areas does not injure but really protects them. Such modern devices as "limited access highways" (freeways) simply are not understood.

Juvenile Court—after five years of agitation by various worthy but conflicting groups two bills went to the legislature this year. The most important of these, transferring all judicial functions hitherto vested in the county judge (a layman) to the circuit court, was adopted. It takes effect July 1. A companion bill to give Lane County an additional circuit judge for Domestic Relations and Juvenile Court was lost after a bitter fight. Lane County's veteran Circuit Judge G. F. Skipworth, however, has responded by stating that he intends to seek the best professional staff available for his probation department and wants to make this "the best thing of its kind in the west."

The school consolidation in the Eugene area is probably the most interesting illustration of the importance of method.

A year ago the Central Lane Planning Council appointed a committee on school integration. It was known that the worst problems were in the

¹See later pages of this article.

Eugene area but E. G. Silke, superintendent of the Springfield union district, was made chairman with County Superintendent L. C. Moffitt and numerous other school leaders sitting in.

School Problem

In Eugene and all its suburban districts industrial growth had led to severe overcrowding in the schools and all faced need to "build something." In November thirteen suburban districts joined in asking for a meeting with the Eugene School Board. There were several meetings at which certain stubborn facts were set up in wall charts:

1. Most rapid growth seems to be suburban.

2. Suburban districts have had to maintain eight grades (under state law) after which they send children to ninth grade in Eugene's junior high schools and to tenth, eleventh and twelfth in Eugene senior high schools.

3. If they could get one good junior high school in suburban area, they could drop their seventh and eighth grades, and present primary buildings would be adequate for time being.

Finally all of the districts including Eugene agreed to employ Dr. C. L. Huffaker, of the University of Oregon, to survey and report. His report showed:

1. Total Eugene district valuation \$15,000,000; total suburban valuation \$6,000,000; total combined \$21,000,000 plus.

2. Valuation of only possible suburban grouping \$3,500,000.

3. Minimum cost of suburban high or junior high school is \$200,000. Against a \$21,000,000 combined val-

uation \$200,000 can be had in three years with three mills levy on cash basis; on only \$3,500,000 it will take three mills twenty years or twenty mills for three years.

4. Consolidation offers complete integration of preparation for high school.

5. People in each district must make up their own minds what they lose and what they gain.

Night after night in suburban schools the problem was discussed by the citizens—with the facts spread out. Dr. Huffaker explained his report, responded to hundreds of questions. The Eugene School Board always sent a representative but he did not talk unless asked.

Eugene and practically all the suburban school districts are debt free, but Eugene alone has a cash building reserve — \$200,000 to which \$100,000 is being added yearly. Eugene Superintendent Henry Gunn explained that, for some years to come, consolidation is going to cost Eugene taxpayers more than they now pay:

Our main interest is that we shall be able to do a better job for all children. We must build anyhow. If you come in with us we can locate buildings where they are most needed, where most of the kids are. When we get through in the suburbs we have to go back and show these same facts at every school house in Eugene.

The Central Lane Planning Council financed the preparation of motion picture films and other materials which showed actual conditions in all Eugene and suburban schools; it set up the committee which mapped out the consolidation studies, but it

did not try to tell suburban school officials or voters what to do.

Nine of the fourteen districts discussed in the Huffaker school report finally decided to submit to their taxpayers the question of consolidating with Eugene.

One district, Glenwood, which lies between Eugene and Springfield but closer to Springfield, was advised by Eugene to join Springfield and will shortly vote on that plan. Three districts, Irving, Willakenzie and Danebo, which were rather far out and not contiguous to the old Eugene district, decided to "wait and see what the others do."

School Merge Voted

Of the nine districts, including Eugene, which voted on March 12 seven returned an overwhelming "Yes," creating a new Eugene district with an aggregate valuation of more than \$18,000,000 and making it possible to begin at once on plans for a new junior high school in the River Road-Santa Clara suburban area where the need is greatest.

Holding back were the little but "rich" Bethel district, which includes the big Southern Pacific terminals,² and Bailey Hill, which has a heavy proportion of undeveloped farm land. Bethel, however, must now face a problem of "educational isolation." Under law it must still maintain eight grades. To do this it must have four new rooms at once. To get them it has just voted \$40,000 in five-year

bonds; it must add at least one more teacher. Bethel's next school tax will jump ten mills. It will be almost as high as Eugene's—and its high school preparation will still be "out of step" for the Eugene high schools which its youngsters must attend. These facts will sink in.

The citizens who compose Eugene and Lane County, Oregon, are not a bit different from citizens anywhere. Voters in New York or St. Louis or Dallas—or perhaps even Chicago—respond just as readily if you can break through the day's pre-occupations with "food, fun and sex," center their attention on a few simple facts and show them some practical way to "do something about this."

Back in 1929 Eugene School Superintendent Howard Goold set a pattern in readable school reports which his successor Jack Cramer improved with pictures—a mimeographed job which costs only about \$500. Mayor Elisha Large and Recorder John Fields made a readable city report and City Manager Deane Seeger hopes to add progress pictures. County reports are still nightmares but it has been suggested that the three can be brought to the same size and general style for comparative reading. Circulation of these reports is not large but effective.

Newspaper and radio support for civic leagues and other agencies which try to promote sound management is extremely important, but "reform groups" need to learn the fine art of putting their material in such shape that even a hard boiled metropolitan editor can see front page value.

²Southern Pacific Company policy had absolutely nothing to do with Bethel vote. Company tax experts are heartily in favor of consolidations as economical in the long run.

Louis Selzer, editor of the *Cleveland Press*, says he thinks big city papers miss a bet when they neglect informative front page articles on local schools and local government. From time to time the *Eugene Register-Guard* has assigned a good reporter to go to school with each grade and try to tell readers what their kids are getting—and why—and he does not have to “butter up” teachers. On all matters of public concern the *Register-Guard* gives more front-page space than do most daily papers.

Facts—or lack of facts—have a great deal to do with determining attitudes and habits in local government. The problem of telling John Citizen what he ought to know may vary greatly. It may be that in Eugene and Lane County John Citizen has just a little more pride than elsewhere—we like to think so.

All we can testify is that John Citizen can be trusted to act wisely if you let him have the facts which lie behind his tax bills.

Public Officials Lead

Many leaders, with many differences of personality and leadership method, have contributed to progressive development in Eugene and Lane County. Mayor Elisha Large, for instance, who led the city of Eugene out of its wilderness of debt, kept to his course with grim determination, seemed to enjoy the nickname “Pinchpenny.” The new ma-

yor, Earl McNutt, a tough-minded business man, has a reputation for action. Already he and City Manager Deane Seeger have cut average running time of council meetings one-half.

In public school affairs there have been many able people, but rather unique is G. D. MacLaren, present chairman, more than ten years on the board, a hardware merchant whose consuming interest is schools.

A roster of leaders other than office holders would take in lawyers, doctors, college professors, lumbermen, merchants and a right amazing variety of individuals, rich and poor.

Eugeneans have the reputation of fighting like wildcats “in the family” and ganging up on strangers. Many times, the people of Eugene and Lane County have raised large sums for the University of Oregon. Oluf Hoaglum heads a county-wide Community Chest which has always exceeded its quota and carries substantial reserves.

In the last year a community endowment, the Century Fund, was established to which anybody any time may contribute any amount from one cent up “for the good of the community.” Last Christmas two women’s organizations started a park and playground project under the Century Fund. Already it has more than 1,500 participants and more than \$5,000. Another women’s group has started a library project under the Fund with a nest egg of \$1,000.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Alabama Committee Proposes Many Reforms

Better State Supervision of Local Governments Urged

ALABAMA'S Legislative Interim Committee on State, County and Municipal Government has been functioning since November 6, 1944, the date of its first meeting. It consists of four members of the State Senate and eleven members of the House of Representatives. At the initial meeting the chairman, Senator Gordon Madison, appointed three subcommittees: state, county and municipal relations, county and municipal government, and state government. The committee had only limited time available before its report was due. It enlisted the aid of various state departments, research agencies, local officials and organizations thereof, and substantially finished its work on March 8, except for a meeting on March 19 just prior to the seven-day session of all legislative interim committeemen and other members of the legislature.

In connection with its study of state, county and municipal relations the committee particularly considered the Division of Local Finance created in 1939 in the State Department of Finance. This division had been handicapped by lack of enforcement power and inadequate finances and staffing. The committee approved bills providing for penalties on local public bodies, and on the officers responsible, for failure to submit statements of indebtedness, budgets, audits and reports of purchases required to be furnished under existing law.

It was recommended that auditing functions of the Division of Local Finance be transferred to the Division of Examiners of Public Accounts and that the latter agency have the additional duty of examining the records of all municipalities of less than 6,000 population; the cost of auditing this group, also of counties, to be borne by the state.

Another bill on the program provides that the Division of Local Finance shall furnish such engineering, architectural, legal, inspection, security marketing and other assistance as is demanded by local public bodies in their undertaking of public works.

Revisions to strengthen the municipal bond code were urged, partly because certain emergency legislation remaining therein no longer seemed necessary. The revisions would include: when notes, warrants and certificates of indebtedness are refunded, as now permitted for a 30-year maximum period, all such evidence of debt shall carry annual maturities; funding, refunding and revenue bonds shall also be payable in annual instalments, as now required for other bonds; certain present distinctions between cities of 6,000 population or over and the smaller cities, as to discounting bonds, to be eliminated; all bonds to be sold to the highest bidder at public sale; all municipal and county bonds to contain a call privilege.

As to municipalities, it was recommended that the present population restrictions in the city manager law be eliminated; that municipal incorporation laws be amended to enlarge the population requirement and assure sufficient taxable property to support minimum municipal functions; that municipalities not levying ad valorem taxes of at least five mills and business licenses of at least one-half the state license tax be prohibited from

participating in state funds; that limitations on licensing powers of municipalities be reviewed in the light of present municipal needs; that all present municipal gasoline tax levies be abolished and succeeded by an extra one-cent gasoline tax on a statewide basis, allocated to municipalities according to population; that, in view of other financing aids and regulations, the state not guarantee local government bonds. Fixing of responsibility for specific functions on state, counties and cities was urged, but on the basis of more study.

In the field of state government it was noted that certain agencies are obsolete or almost so, and should be eliminated or merged elsewhere. It was recommended that a legislative reference service be established and properly staffed to serve the legislature and officials of the state and local governments, to be supervised by a council elected from the members of the House and Senate. One of its services would be bill drafting, another would be to aid in codification of laws.

A state wage and hour law, to cover the group of some 160,000 employees not now covered by federal provisions, was considered highly desirable.

The salary of the governor (now \$6,000) would be increased to \$12,000 by another proposal, to take effect after the present governor's term.

New Constitution Approved by Georgia Legislature

The constitution drafted by the Georgia Commission to Revise the State Constitution¹ has been adopted by the state legislature with little change. One such change was the removal of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting—the legislature having previously taken action to repeal the poll tax.²

A provision placing all state employees under the merit system sets up a state personnel board and provides that state employees cannot be removed for political or religious reasons, or on any basis except proper cause after a fair hearing.

A Veterans' Service Board is created to look after claims and affairs of the 300,000 Georgians now in the armed services as well as those who participated in other wars. A companion enabling act passed by the legislature sets up a veterans' reconstruction corporation empowered to issue \$5,000,000 in revenue certificates and lend veterans up to \$4,000 each to purchase homes or engage in business.

Constitutional status was given many of the state's important boards by the new constitution, including the State Board of Corrections which administers prison affairs and the Georgia Public Service Commission.

The office of lieutenant governor was created by the new constitution to relieve the chief executive of some office details and leave an executive in power when the governor is out of the state. The lieutenant governor will be elected by the people, will preside over the Senate, and will receive a salary of \$2,000 yearly.

Continued requests by Georgia cities and counties for more "home rule" resulted in provision in the new constitution that the next general assembly must adopt optional forms of home rule and submit them to the various counties and cities for acceptance or rejection in referendum; one of the optional plans must include the initiative, referendum and recall.

In addition to the general home rule provision, the constitution prohibits the removal from office of any local official or any change in his term or salary without a referendum, and requires proof that a local bill has been adver-

¹See the REVIEW, February 1945, p. 80.

²The REVIEW, March 1945, p. 131.

tised before it can be introduced or considered.

Movement for Constitutional Convention Grows in Illinois

With the example of Missouri, just across the Mississippi River, confronting them legislators of Illinois are faced with the proposition that their state also should rewrite its constitution, dating from 1870. A house resolution calling for a constitutional convention has passed the executive committee by a vote of 18 to 4. If the legislature approves the idea it goes to the people.

A Joint Committee for Calling a Constitutional Convention has been formed, with a long list of component organizations (see page 246).

Constitution Changes Sponsored by New Jersey Solons

Leaders of the Republican majority in the New Jersey legislature have agreed to make a new effort for revision of the state constitution. A legislative drafting committee is preparing proposed amendments for submission to the legislature, when it meets in special session May 21, to reorganize the court system, lengthen the terms of the governor and legislators, increase salaries of the latter, and legalize "Bingo" games operated for charity.

Governor Walter E. Edge has called for complete reorganization of the state court system. He charges that alleged evasion of orderly judicial procedure by Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City is proof of need for improvement. The Governor made his remarks in connection with creation of a special state commission of legislators, jurists and leaders in the legal profession to draft a court reorganization plan for the legislature's consideration.

Amendments to the constitution

would require approval by two successive legislatures and ratification by the voters.

Constitutional Convention Proposed in Minnesota

Sponsored by members of both the conservative and liberal sides of the Minnesota legislature, representing both cities and country districts, a bill for a constitutional convention has been put forward in that state. As said by the Minneapolis Tribune of April 1:

"Not in 87 years of statehood has Minnesota had a convention to revamp the fundamental law.

"It has been content to meet—rather to try to meet—the changed needs of a growing state and a progressive age by patching the constitution with amendments. The constitution is weighted down with these amendments, some of them foggy as to meaning, some contradictory.

"It seems logical to call a convention and start at the bottom and recast the whole instrument if necessary; at least to simplify, codify and shorten it. Most other states have done this."

Council-Manager Plan News

The council-manager plan of government was approved in **Burlington, North Carolina**, on March 27 by a vote of 2,006 to 1,637. Five councilmen are to be elected at the general election on May 10. Burlington has had a mayor-aldermanic system for over 40 years. Since the present administration strongly opposed the manager plan its proponents were forced to resort to placing the state's optional manager plan (Plan D) on the ballot. Now that it has been adopted by the voters they are hoping to elect to the council candidates who will approve an up-to-date manager charter prepared specifically for Burlington.

The Maine legislature has approved a bill granting a council-manager charter to the town of **Fairfield** which the Governor is expected to sign shortly. A referendum on the new charter will be held in Fairfield in September.

A bill to give **Rockland, Maine**, a council-manager charter has been enacted by the Maine legislature and the city will vote on its adoption on September 10. A Citizens Charter Adoption Committee has over 1,300 members who have agreed to support the proposed charter—about a third of the effective vote.

The voters of the village of **Bennington, Vermont**, at their annual meeting on March 13, reapproved the manager plan for the third time in as many years. Two weeks earlier the voters of the town (township) of Bennington likewise reapproved the manager plan which has been in effect there.

The city council of **Annapolis, Maryland**, unanimously agreed on March 12 that whenever the proposed annexation of certain suburban territory is consummated a referendum election will be held to determine whether the voters prefer the manager plan or the strong-mayor plan of government for the greater city. The council also agreed that after annexation the city would be redistricted into wards of approximately equal population and provided that if the annexation takes place before the July election the annexed area would temporarily constitute two wards, each to elect two aldermen.

In **Spartanburg, South Carolina**, a citizens' steering committee has been organized to arrange for a referendum at the May 8 general election on adoption of council-manager government and to acquaint the people with facts concerning the manager plan. A group of citizens visited the State Capitol at

Columbus on March 28 and prevailed upon the county legislative delegation to support the referendum.

The manager plan with proportional representation as in force in Toledo, Ohio, was explained and advocated on March 13 by Mayor C. A. Roulet of that city to the Kiwanis Club of **Bradenton, Florida**.

A committee of the Chamber of Commerce of **Sarasota, Florida**, has recommended amendments to convert the charter to the council-manager plan.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Tampa, Florida**, by unanimous vote of the board of governors on March 16, decided to join with the Junior Chamber of Commerce in a campaign to obtain council-manager government for Tampa as soon as possible. A poll had been taken of the membership of the senior chamber by mail concerning the urgency of the need for the plan. The chamber had previously approved the idea by an overwhelming vote. The new poll, with answers from 58 per cent of the membership, showed 236 for an immediate change to the manager plan and 187 for an immediate change in the setup of the present council, or board of representatives, with an election as to the manager plan two years hence. A number of other organizations have endorsed the plan.

At the **Dothan, Alabama**, Democratic primary election (in which nomination is tantamount to election) the successful candidate for city commissioner, John D. Ayre, ran on a platform advocating the manager plan for the city. If the forthcoming session of the legislature fails to pass a bill which is to be submitted to it, making the manager plan available for Alabama cities, Mr. Ayre, together with Associate Commissioner Clyde L. Coe, will sponsor a local law to provide Dothan with a manager.

The borough council of **State College, Pennsylvania**, has passed an ordinance creating the office of borough manager to pave the way for establishment of a new administrative set-up recommended by a reorganization committee composed of H. L. Stuart, chairman, E. L. Keller and H. O. Smith, all borough councilmen.

The council-manager charter for **Negaunee, Michigan**, which was defeated at a special election on January 29, was resubmitted at the general election on April 2. It lost again but obtained a larger percentage of the total vote, as well as a larger number of votes, than before. In January it received 884 votes or 39.5 per cent of the 2,237 total; in April, 1,184 votes or 41.2 per cent of 2,872 total.

Rochester, Michigan, will vote on a manager charter June 11.

Corpus Christi, Texas, on April 3 elected to the city commission a ticket of five candidates who had approved the council-manager plan for the city. Another ticket which was still more definitely in favor of the manager plan ran second. The open opponents of the plan ran third.

Voters of **Liberal, Kansas**, adopted the manager plan of government at the polls on April 3 by a vote of 241 to 224.

Both houses of the **Colorado** legislature have unanimously approved a bill permitting cities to adopt the council-manager charter it sets forth. A petition signed by 15 per cent of the voters at the last previous election in a given city is sufficient to place the charter on the ballot. Colorado cities over 2,000 population may elect charter commissions and draft their own charters, but it was felt that many cities would prefer the easier plan of placing an optional charter before the voters.

The Political Action Committee in

Pueblo, Colorado, is looking into the council-manager plan.

The midwinter meeting of the Michigan Chapter of the International City Managers' Association was held at Lansing, February 15 and 16. C. A. Miller, city manager of Traverse City, was elected president at the sessions which were attended by 34 managers.

Thirty-one of the 38 city managers in California attended the conference of the City Managers' Department of the League of California Cities at Los Angeles, February 22 and 23. Speakers included Richard Graves, executive director of the League, and Clarence Ridley, director of the International City Managers' Association.

Seattle Elects Charter Revision Commission

Seattle, Washington, has elected fifteen freeholders for the purpose of revising the city's charter. An advisory charter committee has been functioning for some time extralegally, but the drafting of a proposed charter has now been made official by the election. The group has organized with Victor Zednick as chairman. It has six months in which to prepare a new document for submission to popular vote.

Tennessee Legislature Passes 800 Bills, Most of Them Local

The Tennessee legislature adjourned on March 2 after passing approximately 800 bills. Of these more than three-fourths were private and local acts dealing with county and city matters and a considerable number of the 188 public acts dealt with local matters.

One of the first acts to be passed was that increasing the pay of the governor to \$8,000 per year. Other legislation dealing with state administra-

tion created a Department of Employment Security and transferred to it the Unemployment Compensation Division and Employment Service. A Department of Veterans Affairs and a War Record Bureau were set up in order to be of greater assistance to returning veterans. An office of commissioner of safety replaces the present office of director of safety. A commission was created to buy government property, and state, counties and cities were empowered to purchase surplus government property.

Several acts were passed strengthening and expanding the functions of the State Health Department. A Division of Industrial Hygiene was added, with specific duties and powers. Another act authorized the department to exercise supervision over the construction, operation and maintenance of public water supply and public sewerage systems. No new construction can be undertaken or any changes made in existing systems without written approval of the State Health Department. It was also given supervision over impounded waters in order to prevent the spread of malaria.

With the formation of the TVA chain of lakes, considerable interest has developed regarding their full use for recreational and other uses. The last session of the Tennessee legislature appointed a stream sanitation commission to study the condition of the Tennessee River and determine the extent of its pollution. The legislature just adjourned established a Stream Control Pollution Board of five members, including the commissioners of health, conservation and agriculture and two members appointed by the governor. One of the appointive members is to be a representative of the manufacturing industries of the state and the other a representative of the municipalities. The commissioner of

health is chairman and the State Department of Health is the administrative agency designated to carry out the board's rules and regulations.

The legislation exempting military personnel from payment of the poll tax was extended through 1948. Although several bills were introduced for the repeal of the poll tax, they received little consideration.

A teacher retirement act was passed in substantially the form recommended by the various sponsoring agencies. The state also provided an appropriation of \$75,000 to provide for the establishment and operation of regional libraries. This money becomes available, however, only to the extent that it is matched by local units participating in the regional setup.

Most of the legislation for cities, like that for counties¹ was contained in private acts applicable to individual cities. The subject matter of these acts was concerned for the most part with bond authorization or validation.

Several cities and towns received new charters or secured amendments to existing charters, including Adamsville, Gatlinburg, Lafayette, Parsons, Red Bank and Tracy City. A Board of Public Utilities was established for Lafayette to operate the water system. The Knoxville Electric Power Board act was amended to permit the board to operate the gas system when it is purchased by the city.

In three cities, Erwin, Johnson City and McMinnville, the poll tax was repealed as a prerequisite to voting in municipal elections.

M. H. SATTERFIELD
Tennessee Valley Authority

New York to Vote on Drastic Veterans' Preference Law

The New York State legislature has approved the Downey-Sherman vet-

¹See p. 257 this issue.

erans' preference amendment for the state constitution; as this is the second approval by successive legislatures the measure goes to a vote of the people this November. The Wicks-Mitchell alternative proposal, favored by many civic and civil service groups, did not come to a vote in the legislature, Mr. Mitchell, after the approval of the Downey-Sherman bill, having proposed to postpone his bill until the next legislature.

The Downey-Sherman proposal, in effect, makes the public service a means of veterans' relief, in place of a rounded, rational plan of financial and educational and over-all employment assistance. It gives such complete preference to veterans, especially disabled veterans, that, in the words of the Citizens Union, New York City, "it would wreck the morale of the public service for it would remove all prospect of advancement for most of the experienced employees now on the job." It would tend even to exclude the majority of veterans from the civil service because it would take all disabled veterans even with slight disabilities who merely qualify, before taking the best of the non-disabled veterans. It also tends to exclude the wives and children of men killed in action—unless few of the surviving veterans take advantage of the state service.

Police Chiefs Fight Traffic Accident Increase

As a simple, practical and effective means of reversing the upward trend of traffic accidents the International Association of Chiefs of Police, in collaboration with many other organizations interested in traffic safety, is sponsoring a six-week nation-wide check of motorcar brakes from April 15 to June 1.

Researcher's Digest

What's Wrong with Louisiana's Constitution?

Changes in Amendment Procedure Suggested

THE March 15 issue of *State Problems*, publication of the **New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research**, contains a provocative discussion of the Louisiana state constitution and its amendment process. Unlike many states, Louisiana has had four new constitutions within the past 75 years, "each longer and containing more purely legislative matter than the one which it superseded," says the bureau. It is "more than half again as long as that of any other American state and four times as long as the average state constitution." It has been amended twice as frequently as any other constitution.

The bureau criticizes state legislators for their failure to give due consideration to proposed amendments, taking the easy way out by "letting the people decide." But an investigation of the popular vote cast on amendments—which are traditionally submitted at the general election whereas in Louisiana the primary is the election of interest—shows that amendments are adopted by as few as five of each 100 potential white voters, and that the eight urban parishes of the state with less than half the voting population cast 71 per cent of all amendment votes—New Orleans alone accounting for 50.6 per cent. Several local issues were definitely decided by parishes not affected.

Suggested possibilities for improvement include more effective consideration of proposed amendments by the legislature, publication not only of the

official text but of a fair and impartial statement in ordinary language of the context, purpose and effect of the proposed amendment, requirement for adoption by a majority of those voting at the election rather than of those voting upon the amendment.

What Should a Municipal Pension System Provide?

Sound Pension Plans for Connecticut Municipalities, published by the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council**, is a presentation which might well be used as a guide for cities of any state. In his letter of transmittal to the Committee on Public Personnel of the Connecticut General Assembly, Carter W. Atkins, executive director of the organization, states that the report "has been prepared after a careful study of the 53 pension systems now in effect in 29 municipalities." It discusses the reasons for providing pension systems, describes those systems now used in Connecticut municipalities pointing out their good points as well as defects, and winds up with a chapter entitled "What a Municipal Pension Plan Should Provide."

How Washington Cities Collect Garbage

The **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of Washington** and the **Association of Washington Cities** have brought together a representative set of ordinances in *Garbage Collection Ordinances of Washington Cities*. Among the methods of operation covered are city collection as a regular utility on a compulsory basis, city collection as a utility on a non-compulsory basis, city collection of fees but contracting with private party for collection, municipal collection on free (or partly free) basis with city equipment (compulsory), free service but city contracts with private party for collection, exclusive contract or fran-

chise with private party, license or permit system. Other chapters present the ordinance recommended by the Washington State Department of Health which provides for sanitary universal collection of garbage on a compulsory basis either by the municipality or on contract, dump regulations, regulations of state law and of the state board of health and a reproduction of forms and notices.

State Aid for Massachusetts Schools Explained

Because "the details of this state educational aid program are many and complicated and they are little known outside school circles," the **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations** has prepared *State Fiscal Aids to Cities and Towns for Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in Massachusetts*. The report covers finances for the years 1917 to 1943. It concludes that: "The complexity of the present system, the arbitrariness of the formulas, the sharp on-and-off points, and the limited equalizing effects revealed here serve to strengthen the conviction that there is a very real need for a thorough overhauling of the present system."

Sheriff

"Why should the St. Louis sheriff be elected?" the **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute** wants to know. Its publication, *Dollars and Sense in Government*, gives pertinent reasons why he should not be chosen at the polls and lists three alternatives: appointment by the circuit judges or, better still, transfer of his duties to the Police Department or to one of the departments under the mayor. The institute points out that "with the adoption of the new state constitution there is no longer any constitutional requirement that the sheriff be elected" and that the legislature has authority to provide for a more suitable method of selection

or to permit St. Louis to make such provision under its home rule powers.

* * *

Local Postwar Problems

"Interest and participation in the war effort should not blind Schenectady citizens to the important problems not connected with the war which face their community today," warns the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research**. "Solutions to many of these problems cannot be carried out until the war is over, but they should be considered in the interim so that the postwar period will not find the city facing many pressing problems bankrupt of well thought out ideas to meet them."

Some of the problems listed by the bureau include the construction and use of an intelligent plan for city growth and development—political, social, physical and economic; postwar public employment, river pollution, flood control, what the city can do about the movement from the city to the suburbs, slum clearance and low-cost housing, recreation, traffic, securing new industries and, last but not least, civic education of citizens concerning their city government.

* * *

State Budgets

The **Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research's** new publication, *Financial Data Affecting the 1945-47 Budget State of Minnesota—An Analysis of State Fiscal Operations 1934-45*, has been submitted to the legislature as "background material for the determination of a sound spending and tax program for the next biennium." The volume covers the fiscal operations of the state for the past two years and tables on trends of revenue receipts, current costs and debt for the past ten years.

An "Analysis of the State Budget" has been made by **Governmental Research, Inc.**, of New York State, which

warns: "The budget each year is becoming less and less a gauge of state financial trends because so much of state taxing and spending is omitted and because of increasing elasticity in the budget procedure itself." In the latter category the report lists these reasons: omitting from the budget more and more of state taxing and spending, a rapidly growing resort to lump-sum appropriations, the resort to transfers from one part of the budget to another, the making of appropriations in amounts less than those actually to be paid, the shifting of large amounts of expenses from the so-called general fund to other funds not in the budget. In commenting on the first of these the bureau says: "This practice of omitting expenditures from the budget . . . has had the practical effect of preventing legislators from realizing the amounts of state spending for which they are responsible. It has been unbelievably confusing to editors and taxpayer leaders. It has had the practical effect in elections of making possible exorbitant claims of economy, and the receipt of widespread public credit for it, when actually the spending for which the public pays has been vigorously increased."

* * *

State Surpluses

The **Los Angeles Bureau of Municipal Research** recommends that of the state's \$288,000,000 surplus as of June 30, 1945, \$100,000,000 should be set aside as a revolving fund to be loaned to cities, counties or school districts for the postwar construction of essential public facilities.

Just a Second—issued by the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research**—discusses the debate which has been raging in Michigan over the amount of the state surplus. "The basic fact," it comments, "essentially undisputed thus far, is that whether or not it is defined as 'surplus' the state apparent-

ly will have \$100,000,000 or more cash available for use if the legislature so desires." The bureau points out that "cities have not sought distribution from the funds now available but have sought to establish the existence of these funds to illustrate the extent to which the state revenues have outstripped expenditures in order to create these funds. The position of the cities is simply that on the basis of the excess of revenues over expenditures and the growth in revenues, the state could and should distribute some part of these excess revenues and still have enough left to meet other needs."

* * *

School Costs

An analysis of elementary school costs in San Francisco brings the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research** to the conclusion that the city's costs are higher than in other California cities. Comparisons are made with the eleven other largest cities of the state. Had the Los Angeles cost per pupil of \$129.19 been in effect, says the bureau, savings of \$915,000 would have been made; the Oakland per capita figure would have raised the savings to \$1,308,000.

* * *

City Finance

The **Providence Governmental Research Bureau** has compiled and published "Financial Data, City of Providence, Rhode Island, 1935-1944." It presents "in convenient form the financial information authorities usually consider necessary for soundly evaluating municipal credit." Covered are assessed valuations, tax rates and collections, debt, future debt service requirements, revenues and expenditures, expenditures from borrowed funds and departmental expenditures.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Civic Groups Campaign for New Illinois Constitution

Form Joint Committee to Secure Convention Call

A CITIZENS' movement "extending from the precincts of Chicago to the grass roots of rural Illinois" is under way for adoption of a new state constitution. Thirty-two civic groups, local and statewide, are backing a **Joint Committee for Calling a Constitutional Convention**.

Chairman of the joint committee is Mrs. George G. Bogert, who occupies the same position for the constitutional convention committee of the Illinois League of Women Voters—pioneers in the movement. The last revision of the constitution was in 1870.

Included in the groups which have banded together are: Association of Real Estate Boards, Congress of Parents and Teachers, Council-Manager Conference, Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Federation of Women's Clubs, Home Bureau Federation, League of Women Voters, Municipal League, State Industrial Union Council (C.I.O.), Independent Voters, Women's Bar Association—all statewide organizations; Lithuanian Committee, Metropolitan Housing Council, Council of Jewish Women, Lawyers Guild, Public Housing Conference, Union for Democratic Action, Woman's City Club, Teachers Union (A.F.L.), Women's District Grand Lodge No. 6 B'nai Brith, Bar Association, Real Estate Board, Urban League, Woman's Club, City Club, Conference of Jewish Women's Organizations, Decalogue So-

ciety of Lawyers—all of Chicago; and the Hyde Park Voters League, Cook County Bar Association and West Suburban Teachers Union (A.F.L.).

"Illinois and Its One-Horse Shay" is the title of a series of ten radio programs which the **Illinois League of Women Voters** has been conducting to arouse interest in constitution revision.

The **Union League Club of Chicago** and the **Chicago Citizens' Association**, to honor the service of the late George E. Cole as a civic leader and "to encourage active civic interest among present day Chicagoans," sponsored a luncheon to commemorate the one hundredth birthday of "Citizen Cole." Governor Dwight H. Green of Illinois and George I. Haight were the principal speakers.

Mr. Cole, who died in 1930 at the age of 85, was a member of the Union League Club for 43 years and active in the Citizens Association as president, member of its executive committee or honorary president for 30 years. He "capped his public service by campaigning for a new Illinois state constitution," states *Men and Events*, organ of the Union League Club. He succeeded in starting the ball rolling and a new document was submitted to the public in 1922. The voters failed to ratify it, however, hence the present efforts for revision.

Dayton Handbook Sells Citizenship

Evidence that the citizens of a community want to know more about their local public institutions is vividly portrayed in **Dayton, Ohio**, where the *Handbook of Local Government*, issued by the **Chamber of Commerce**, is receiving general approval. Developed by the chamber's Governmental Research Department, the handbook briefly outlines the organization, taxation and expenditure programs of city, county and schools in that area. Two pages

are devoted to elections and the obligations of citizens.

The handbook has been distributed to 3,800 men and women in the community, is on the waiting room table of many doctors and dentists, is being used as a civics text by 2,500 boys and girls in public and parochial schools of Dayton and suburban Oakwood, is being handed to new supervisory employees by several of the larger industries, is part of the reading of Boy Scouts working for civics merit badges and is being distributed by the League of Women Voters and some neighborhood civic groups to their members.

Taxation committees of chambers in other Ohio cities have obtained copies for use in studying their own local problems. Chambers of commerce in approximately 30 other states have requested copies, evidencing a growing recognition by business and industry for the need of an expanding community educational program.

The Dayton chamber will continue to furnish individual copies upon receipt of postage as long as they last.

MAX P. HEAVENRICH, JR.
Dayton Chamber of Commerce

Fesler, Dean of Civic Leaders, Retires; Bebout Takes Over

On April 1 John E. Bebout, former director of the New Jersey Constitution Foundation, became director of the **Citizens League of Cleveland** and the **Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research**. Mr. Bebout succeeds Mayo Fesler, director of the Citizens League for the past 32 years, who has resigned because of ill-health. Prior to his appointment as director of the New Jersey organization, Mr. Bebout was an instructor in Rutgers College and assistant professor at the University of New York. He has worked in close cooperation with civic and governmental groups in New Jersey.

Mr. Fesler has been asked by the Cleveland organizations to accept the position of research consultant so that his services will not be lost to the community.

Because of his long and colorful service in the cause of good government, Mr. Fesler's resignation has been the subject of editorial comment in the Cleveland press.

"There is no way to gauge exactly the extent to which government in Greater Cleveland has been affected by Mayo Fesler," says the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, "but it would be difficult to exaggerate the amount of good which he has performed for the body politic during his nearly three decades of service in this community . . . It is a cause for genuine regret that illness prevents the continuance of his splendid work for his community."

Comments the *Cleveland Press*: "It can never be said that Mayo Fesler is an appeaser. As director of the Citizens League he was joyous in battle. Never once did he run away from a fight, and he was as ready to fight over a small issue as a large one. . . .

"Those who like a good fight were never disappointed when Mr. Fesler blew into a legislative committee meeting, with iron gray mustache bristling and eyes flashing behind steel-rimmed glasses.

"The director pulled no punches, either, in listing the qualifications, or lack of them, of candidates for public office. There was no mistaking the hand or voice in the League's recommendations. They carried weight."

Schools, Press Linked in Education Program

Closer cooperation between educators and the press is needed to help create an informed public opinion and reduce some of the existing "dangerous ignorance" in this country, according to

Lester Markel, Sunday editor of the *New York Times*. Mr. Markel addressed five hundred teachers and school administrators on "The Newspaper—Its Making and Its Meaning," at a meeting sponsored by the *Times* under the auspices of the New York City Board of Education.

In making suggestions for using the newspaper as a text book for the study of current affairs, Mr. Markel suggested that teachers follow the development of a story day by day in the newspaper, reading each issue as a chapter in world history.

"The newspaper offers a great challenge and a great opportunity for the teacher as well as for the editor," he said. "Used as it should be, without bias, without fear, without favor, it can be a great instrument of democracy. Our goals lie in the same direction."

Here and There

Guides for Citizens

Voters attending city council meetings in **Kansas City, Missouri**, are presented with a four-page circular containing the pictures and names of councilmen and the seating arrangement of the council chamber. Included are an organization chart of the city's government, the names of chief administrative officers and members of commissions and a brief statement on how the city council operates.

Two new pamphlets issued by the **New York City League of Women Voters** will prove of value to citizens. One, *They Represent you in Washington, Albany, New York City*, lists legislators and administrators for the three levels of government. It urges citizens to "get the habit of writing your representatives on matters which interest you." Included in the pamphlet are maps covering all New York City and

showing congressional, assembly and state senatorial districts.

The league's second leaflet, *New York Voter's Manual*, is an excellent companion piece. Prepared by Bianca S. Simon and Amelia Dietrich Lewis, it describes who may vote, provisions covering such matters as absentee voting, methods of voting, servicemen's voting, registration, primaries, the electoral college, etc., and describes national, state and local officers, how they are chosen and their duties.

The **Citizens' League of Port Huron, Michigan**, sponsored a meeting at which all candidates for the city election were invited to speak. Proposals on the ballot were also explained. The League's bulletin published biographical sketches of all candidates, as reported by the candidates themselves, and described proposed charter and state constitutional amendments.

* * *

One-Man Grand Jury

One of a series of pamphlets explaining its contributions to the public welfare describes *The Grand Jury Work of the Detroit Citizens League*.¹ "Three times since 1930," cites the pamphlet, "the **Detroit Citizens League** has become known as leader and active agent in the successful use of the grand jury for investigation and prosecution of crime . . . Because of the confidential character of these undertakings little concerning them could then be published but now a fairly comprehensive account of the league's activities in this field can be set down. It constitutes a record probably unparalleled in the history of citizen organization in this country. It also marks another forward step in the progress of American democracy."

¹See also "One Man Grand Jury in Action," by William P. Lovett, *THE REVIEW*, June 1944, p. 292.

1945 Objectives

The **Committee of One Hundred of Yonkers** has published its "Objectives for 1945." Covered are various suggestions for improvement in city finance and administration—planning, transportation, purchasing, personnel — as well as education. Its last—and most important—objective is: "Holding public forums on matters of general interest and thereby, and through the press, acquainting the general public with the facts on which the solution of the city's problems must be based and its progress developed."

* * *

Permanent Registration

The **City Club of Chicago** has announced its opposition to the efforts being made to repeal provisions for permanent registration in Illinois counties of less than 100,000. A permanent registration law applying only to Cook County was enacted in 1937 and subsequently extended to the rest of the state.

* * *

The Legislature

C. A. Crosser, secretary of the **Municipal League of Seattle**, commenting editorially in the *Seattle Municipal News*, asks, "Should we streamline the state legislature?" Mr. Crosser has just returned to Seattle after observing the Washington legislature at work. He offers several suggestions for its improvement: (1) All legislation should pass through a competent bill-drafting department which would thoroughly check each measure; (2) There might be a "cooling-off" period between introduction of bills and their passage during which the general public and press would have an adequate opportunity to digest proposals and appraise them as to their public benefit; (3) The legislative session might be increased from 60 to 90 days to permit legislators more

time to consider proposed laws. "These changes," states Mr. Crosser, "can only be accomplished by means of changes in the constitution and statutes."

The March issue of the *Montana Taxpayer* contains a review of the work of the 1945 state legislature. Legislation passed is listed under various categories—state finance, county finance, cities and towns, public school finance.

* * *

Strictly Personal

The Pepper Box, issued by the Rotary Club of St. Louis, in announcing a meeting on the new Missouri constitution to be addressed by **Stratford Lee Morton**, a member of the council of the National Municipal League, comments: "To no Missourian should go more credit than to our own Strat Morton for the opportunity to vote on February 27, 1945, for a new progressive constitution. In 1941 he secured for St. Louis the 47th annual conference of the National Municipal League, raised the money and was St. Louis chairman. From this clinic on good government sprang the movement and organization for a new constitution. As chairman of the St. Louis and St. Louis County Committee on Revision and treasurer of the Statewide Committee a successful vote was obtained for the convention. As delegate-at-large he spent a year in Jefferson City. Curtis Betts, veteran political observer, writing in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* said: 'There is no better informed delegate in the convention than Morton. For more than two years he has diligently studied the governmental machinery of all the states. He has consistently fought to include in the proposed constitution the modern provisions which have been found effective in other states.'"

Former Governor Park of Missouri,

seatmate of Mr. Morton during the constitutional convention, comments: "I know of no man who was more effective in bringing about the good things contained in the new constitution."

Hon. Murray Seasongood, former mayor of Cincinnati, expressing the view that there should be rotation in office, refused to be considered for reelection this year as president of the Hamilton County (Ohio) Good Government League. Mr. Seasongood has served the organization as president for the past ten years. To mark his service, and his great interest in and stimulus to the cause of good government, the Board of Directors of the organization presented him with an Oxford Dictionary at the league's tenth annual meeting in Cincinnati.

"To **Reginald W. Bird**: In grateful recognition of his years of unique leadership and devoted service to the development of citizen participation in democratic government in his state and country," reads the inscription on a silver-mounted plaque recently presented to Mr. Bird, president of the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations. The presentation was made at a testimonial dinner in tribute to his services for the past thirteen years.

Walter T. Margetts, Jr., of Passaic, has been elected to the presidency of the New Jersey Taxpayers Association for his fourth term. **A. R. Everson**, who has been executive officer of the association since its formation fourteen years ago, was re-elected executive vice-president. The election was conducted by mail since the association's annual meeting had been cancelled in compliance with the request of War Mobilization Director Byrnes for a ban on travel for meetings.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the
Proportional Representation Review)

Finland Holds Democratic Elections

An Attack in Toledo Yonkers Ousts Manager

FINLAND, first of the liberated nations to do so, went to the polls on Saturday and Sunday, March 17 and 18, and elected a new parliament. The method used was a party list system of proportional representation. This system had been used for all Finnish national elections since Finland was re-established as an independent nation under the constitution of 1919 and even under the semi-autonomous status granted by Russia in 1906.

Except that the small Finnish Nazi party (Iki) was barred, press reports indicate that there was complete freedom of expression, good order and a record turnout of voters. The fair deal assured to all the contesting parties by the election method undoubtedly contributed to this auspicious result in a tense situation.

The proportional returns reflected a natural drift to the left but prevented any sweeping overturn. The two labor parties together polled approximately half the votes and elected 103 members of the 200-member one-house Eduskunta. The Social Democrats lost heavily to the new Communist-dominated Democratic People's Union but still remained the largest party. The former conservative majority, composed largely of Agrarians, Conservatives, Swedish People's party and Liberals, retained almost half the seats and will remain influential.

The freedom of the various parties to support their own candidates with-

out danger of losing out by so doing contributed to the clarity of the popular verdict, and the approximate fidelity of representation secured was fortunate in a number of ways. It obviously made for good feeling at home. Good relations with nearby Russia were promoted by the substantial representation of the Democratic Union, but the large vote of the Union, as the *New York Times* pointed out editorially on March 21, "is approximately only one-quarter of the total vote, and only the existence of the ultra-democratic proportional representation system gives the Union party one-quarter of the total Diet seats." Acting with the moderate but labor-minded Social Democrats it has a majority for social reform measures, but only such well conceived measures as can command the united support of the two labor parties in the presence of a heavily represented opposition. Premier Juho K. Paasikivi has announced a friendly attitude toward Russia, but there is no majority for national policies regularly made in Moscow.

Results of Election

With several large parties in the field an ordinary plurality election by districts might have led to almost any kind of distortion, with a clear majority of the people in the average district failing to elect anyone. Coming so soon after the country's change of front, and while it is still at war with Germany, the resulting resentments and misrepresentation might have proved highly disruptive. Finland's experience with P. R., like the unbroken experience of Sweden, Switzerland and Ireland continuing through the war, deserves careful attention before elections are held in other liberated countries such as Italy and France.

Early press returns summarize the

results of the Finnish election as follows:

Party	New Parliament	Old Parliament	Gain or Loss
Social Democrats	52	85	-33
Democratic People's Union ¹	51	—	-11
Agrarian League	46	57	-11
Conservatives	28	25	+ 3
Swedish People's party	16	18	- 2
Liberals	7	7	—
Nazis (banned this year)	—	8	- 8
Total	200	200	

P.A.C. Circulating Petitions in Toledo

Casting about for an issue to develop its new-found political power, the Political Action Committee of the C.I.O. in Toledo has hit on the idea of trying to abolish proportional representation and substitute plurality voting at large for the city council. It is circulating petitions to get the required 13,500 signatures to put the necessary charter amendment on the ballot.

This surprising development is causing no little concern in labor and liberal circles elsewhere, where P. R. is widely regarded as a fundamental instrument of democracy to insure minorities their rightful hearing and share of participation in government. P.A.C. leadership in Toledo, however, has so far boldly rejected a minority

¹The British P. R. Society reports that the Democratic Union increased its representation from four to 50. Presumably the four were included by the recent press reports in the former representation of the Social Democrats, from whom most of the rest of the Democratic Union's strength seems to have come.

role, saying that "labor constitutes a majority of the people."¹ "If labor were a minority group which could only elect a representative to city council because of the P. R. system," they concede, "it would be foolish to advocate and work for the overthrow of a system which gives it a voice and vote in council."²

Examination of P.A.C. statements so far issued brings out no more specific charges against P. R. than that it is "un-American" and has failed, and that councilmen rely too much on the city manager instead of making records of their own.

Citizens Organize

A citizens' committee to defend P. R. against the attack was organized on March 28 with George H. Fell as temporary chairman and Professor O. Garfield Jones of the University of Toledo as a member of the organizing committee.

The *Toledo Times* said in an editorial on January 22, when the likelihood of a P.A.C. attack on P. R. was first being discussed:

"The city is running along so smoothly that it is improbable that any anti-P. R. organization will be able to work up much of a lather of discontent over the system which in the years it has been on trial seems to have turned in a credible record.

"If the C.I.O.'s Political Action Committee or any other group wishes to test the strength of the P. R. backing, they have the privilege at any time. If they want to do it, they should get their campaign under way. About all they would have to do to scrap P. R. would be (1) to prove that it has not represented the people

¹*Toledo Union Journal*, column on Political Action by Clayton Rusch, chairman of the local P.A.C., March 18, 1945.

²*Toledo Union Journal*, Editorial, March 18, 1945.

properly and (2) to present a better method through which the people can obtain as clean a government as they have today. Both would be difficult."

A Set-Back in Yonkers

The phenomenal record of progress under P. R. and the city manager plan in Yonkers, New York, described in this department last month by Mayor Curtiss E. Frank, has been rudely interrupted. The city's capable and enterprising city manager, Robert Craig Montgomery, has been ousted under circumstances which indicate that three of the five city councilmen may support a spoils regime for the benefit of the local Democratic organization. The healthy reaction of the public gives ground for hope, however, that the set-back will be only temporary.

At the third P. R. council election in Yonkers two years ago the people re-elected overwhelmingly a nonpartisan City Manager League majority consisting of Mayor Frank, Republican, Mrs. Edith P. Welty, Republican without party endorsement, and Thomas B. Sheridan, Democrat without party endorsement. The Democratic party minority elected the veteran party leader James A. Sullivan and a new member, John J. Whalen, a businessman with a good personal reputation.

New Manager Appointed

Recently the majority coalition parted company when Mr. Whalen joined Mr. Frank and Mrs. Welty in replacing City Manager William A. Walsh with Mr. Montgomery, a former New York City broker who had unusual business and executive experience and had been giving the city distinguished service as comptroller. Mr. Walsh, a former reform mayor who had accepted the managership after his 70th birthday with the idea

that he would help to put the local government back on its feet and then retire, had served the city well and there was no desire on anyone's part to dishonor him; but when it was privately suggested that the time had come for him to step aside in favor of more aggressive and specially trained leadership he chose to attack publicly the councilmen who made the suggestion and removal proceedings followed. Mr. Sheridan refused to sanction the removal.

The removal also caused considerable public resentment, but during the 110 days that he remained in office the forthright and able way in which Mr. Montgomery attacked the city's unsolved problems won him the virtually united support of good citizens. "Mr. Montgomery's record of municipal achievement as comptroller and manager," said the *Yonkers Herald Statesman* editorially on March 27, "has won the city new industries, extra revenues, better pay for employees, lower tax rates and a string of improvements that tend to make every good citizen proud."

Public Protests Ouster

At the time Mr. Montgomery was made manager, Mr. Whalen gave public assurance of his complete confidence in the new manager and said that he would be given "an absolutely free hand to do the best possible job for the city,"¹ but party organization pressure proved too strong. Mr. Montgomery flatly rejected certain demands from the local Democratic leader for party patronage appointments at the expense of public servants who were doing their work well, and shortly thereafter the three Democratic members, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Whalen and Mr. Sheridan, voted together to suspend him for 30 days and gave notice of their intention to remove him.

¹*Yonkers Herald Statesman*, editorial, March 27, 1945.

At the meeting on March 27 when this ouster vote was taken some 500 angry citizens voiced audible protests. Plans engineered by Mr. Montgomery to bring a million-dollar laboratory to Yonkers were immediately suspended by the company concerned. The city's one large newspaper, the *Herald Statesman*, said editorially:

"Montgomery is being fired because he's too good, because he's too honest, because he wouldn't and couldn't 'play ball' like old-fashioned politicians, who care more about currying favor with the political big-shots than they do for the welfare of the taxpayers." For a number of days it carried letters of indignant protest from prominent citizens.²

Public Hearing

Mr. Montgomery has asked for a public hearing, to which he is entitled under the charter. Pending his removal City Engineer Norman P. Henderson is acting as manager. Both he and Mr. Walsh have declined to be considered as Mr. Montgomery's successor and at this writing there is no indication who the new manager will be.

The *Herald Statesman* and other leaders of good government forces are warning that the Democratic organization may try to capitalize on the public's exasperation to launch another attack on P. R. or the manager plan and point out that without P. R. and the manager plan the city could not have advanced to a more satisfactory position in the first place. The League of Women Voters is holding a series of meetings to make clear the indispensable advantages of the city's charter in meeting the present crisis successfully; and the City Manager League is grooming a strong ticket, minus Mr. Sheridan, to elect a dependable good government majority at the fourth P. R. election next fall.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

County Manager Law Enacted in Oregon

New Charters May Be Adopted by Petition and Popular Vote

UNDER the county manager law recently enacted by the Oregon state legislature and signed by Governor Snell, all counties in the state may now adopt the manager plan of government. A constitutional amendment permitting enactment of the statute was ratified by the voters of the state last November.¹ Already Clackamas County is preparing to draft a manager charter for submission to its voters and there is interest in other parts of the state.

The new statute does not set up a specific charter but provides that "a county may adopt a charter containing any system or plan of county manager form of government which substantially conforms to the requirements of this act." Such charter may be adopted upon (1) petition signed by at least 10 per cent of the electors who voted in the last preceding election for county clerk and (2) ratification of the charter proposed in the petition by simple majority vote in a referendum at the next primary election. At least 45 days must elapse between such election and the date on which it was ordered.

The law permits the abolition of all county offices except that of school superintendent where the county unit plan has been adopted. The elective board of commissioners may vary from three to seven members, with terms of

¹For account and text of constitutional amendment, see the REVIEW, December 1944, p. 633.

²See editorial this issue, p. 211.

office and compensation, if any, as designated in the charter. One of the commissioners, however, must run and serve as county judge. The board is the governing body of the county, and among its duties are included the appointment of the manager for an indefinite term and the ordering of an annual audit.

The manager need not be a resident of the county and must be chosen on a basis of merit only. He has sole appointive power of all other county officers, but he may delegate it in part to his subordinates. The power of appointment by the county board and by the manager is accompanied by the power of removal, but the latter is circumscribed by the employee's right to receive written charges. The manager is required to make monthly reports to the board and to prepare and submit an annual budget.

The law suggests that there may be departments of records and finance, education, public works, and public welfare, unless otherwise provided in the county charter. The manager may serve as director of one or more of the departments, and he may designate some of his subordinates to serve in two or more such capacities.

After four years of operation, the manager plan may be abandoned by the same procedure by which it was adopted.

Manager Charter Sought for Santa Clara County, Calif.

As a direct result of the work of the Grand Jury and the Citizens Planning Council of Greater San Jose,¹ a large and enthusiastic mass meeting of the people of Santa Clara County, California, has been held to initiate the machinery necessary to draft and secure adoption of a home rule manager char-

ter. Residents from all parts of the county attended the meeting, which was called by the Citizens Planning Council.

At the meeting the Santa Clara County Charter Association was formed to organize and conduct the charter campaign. The next step will be a popular election to select a board of freeholders. Such election may be called either voluntarily by the county board of supervisors or as the result of a petition signed by at least 15 per cent of the voters in the last preceding gubernatorial election.

If the board of freeholders of fifteen members is approved by popular vote at the special election called for this purpose, it is given four months in which to draft a charter and, after publication thereof, the popular vote on ratification must be held in not less than 30 nor more than 60 days. Sponsors of the charter hope to secure the vote "before Christmas."

Government of Georgia Counties Studied

Georgia's system of county government has been subjected to thorough analysis by Melvin Clyde Hughes in his recently published book, *County Government in Georgia*. The study was published by the University of Georgia Press and constitutes another valuable addition to the growing list of works on local rural government.

Dr. Hughes, on leave from the University of Georgia, has made a contribution not only to the literature on county government but also to the cause of governmental reform in Georgia under most timely circumstances. At the present moment the people of Georgia are appraising their governmental institutions with critical eyes and they are eager to correct and improve upon what they see. Already

¹See REVIEW, April 1945, p. 200.

they have made auspicious beginnings in rectifying flagrant defects.

Dr. Hughes' study constitutes a careful analysis of all factors bearing on the local community. He not only traces the early institutional beginnings of county government in Georgia but he analyzes also the pertinent problems of topography, population, wealth, transportation facilities and trade centers. Detailed examination of the administration of justice, finance, highways, schools, welfare, health and conservation services is based on direct observation and interviews as well as on study of the constitution and statutes of the state. In each of these fields Dr. Hughes is not content merely to report. He makes his own observations regarding the faults of the system and ventures to suggest remedial measures.

On the basis of this extensive analysis Dr. Hughes makes his proposal for general reorganization of county government throughout the state. There is nothing novel in the plan he presents. It calls for the consolidation of Georgia's 159 counties into 32, or under an alternative plan into 40, new counties. Many surveys of county government in other states have made similar recommendations, and to date all have been ignored by "practical politicians." The present study may suffer a similar fate, but eventually it is to be hoped that there will be general recognition of the need to modernize local government to cope with present-day problems and to offer a reasonable alternative to the accelerating trend toward centralization.

Wisconsin Legislature Defeats County Government Amendment

County reform in Wisconsin again has failed to surmount opposition within the state and the obstacles imposed

by the constitution.¹

The Wisconsin state constitution requires uniformity in the structure of county government and amendment to the constitution requires passage of a proposal by two successive sessions of the legislature plus submission to the voters for final adoption.

A proposed amendment was approved by the 1943 session of the legislature (1) providing for removal of the section requiring uniformity in county government, (2) giving the legislature power to enact optional forms of government from which the counties could choose by popular vote, and (3) permitting the abolition of certain elective county officers or their change to an appointive basis. When reconsidered in the 1945 session, however, it was defeated in the lower house by a vote of 61 to 31.

Proponents of the amendment must start once more at the beginning of the procedure. On one prior occasion the proposal was passed by one session of the Wisconsin legislature only to die in the following session two years later.

Consolidation under Manager Proposed for Miami-Dade Co.

The mayor of Miami, Florida, has proposed that the city and Dade County be completely consolidated into one unit under a manager form of government. Such consolidation would involve the abolition of seventeen towns and cities, five school districts, ten subschool districts, five justice of peace districts and ten drainage districts. The mayor estimates that savings resulting from the consolidation would be approximately \$2,000,000 annually.

¹See the REVIEW, September 1943, p. 459; October 1944, p. 484.

Alabama Legislative Committee Makes County Recommendations

The Alabama Legislative Interim Committee on State, County and Municipal Government, in its recent report to the state legislature, recommended:

- (1) Abolition of election of county commissioners by districts;
- (2) Provision for the probate judge and two commissioners elected at large to serve as the governing body of small counties;
- (3) Provision for the election of three commissioners elected at large to constitute the governing body of the middle group of counties; and
- (4) Allocation of functional fields of administration to each of the commissioners.

The committee did not make recommendations affecting the large counties and it suggested that further study be given to the problems of consolidation of counties and municipalities.

Toledo Revives Discussion of County Reform

The *Toledo City Journal*, official publication of the municipality, recently has revived discussion of the need for county reform in Ohio. It recalled the work of a committee appointed by the governor of Ohio in 1933, a project which had been financed by the Spelman Fund. After a year of study and research the committee recommended that the legislature establish alternative forms of county organization including (1) the county manager plan, (2) the limited executive plan and (3) the elective executive plan. The committee had recommended also that various combinations of these plans be permitted. Despite the introduction of bills to carry out these recommendations no action was ever taken by the legislature; hence the *Journal* has suggested that the matter be given recon-

sideration. It points to the overlapping police functions of Toledo and Lucas County as the type of problem which urgently requires solution.

Metropolitan Planning Agency Recommended for Detroit

A planning agency for the metropolitan area of Detroit was recommended at a recent meeting of the Michigan Planning Commission. The area would include the counties of Wayne, Oakland, Macomb and Washtenaw. The agency would have a permanent office and staff to be financed jointly by local contributions and the State Planning Commission.

Governor Kelly requested the commission to give the recommendation further study with special reference to legislation needed to put it into effect.

County Legislation in Tennessee

The Tennessee legislature enacted more than 400 local bills affecting counties during its 61-day session which adjourned on March 2. Most of them involved merely bond authorization or validation and changing the pay of individual county officers. There were 135 separate acts dealing with the pay of county officers such as sheriff, tax assessor, county judge, etc. For example, Davidson County, containing the city of Nashville, had ten separate acts passed establishing pay rates for the following officers and employees: purchasing commission, court officers, general sessions court officers, chancery court officers, bailiffs, electrical inspector, process servers, assistant attorney general, stenographer of chancery court, and stenographer of criminal court.

One local act, applicable only to Knox County and the city of Knoxville, merits consideration because of its unusual character. Members of the

Tennessee legislature are paid four dollars a day for each day the legislature is in session, not to exceed 75 days for each regular session. The inadequacy of the pay of legislators has long been recognized but since the provisions regarding compensation are embedded in the constitution, a document unamended since its adoption in 1870, no adjustment in pay has been possible. The new act makes provision for supplementing the pay received by the Knox County delegation from the state by providing that the governing bodies of Knox County and the city of Knoxville shall each pay an additional four dollars per day to each member of the Knox County delegation. If this legislation is put into effect, each Knox County legislator would receive a salary of twelve dollars per day as compared with four dollars for the rest of the state.

It has been indicated that this act may be unconstitutional, and, to date, none of the members eligible under it has sought the additional compensation. Should the act be upheld, however, and the payment made, it seems likely that legislative delegations from other counties will seek to supplement their constitutional salary by similar devices.

Bond Issues Authorized

There were 33 local acts authorizing county bond issues. Among these counties were: (1) Davidson, \$3,000,000 in hospital bonds; (2) Shelby, \$2,000,000 in school bonds; and (3) Knox, up to \$1,000,000 in bonds for county schools.

Another subject which receives the attention of every session of the Tennessee legislature is that of changes in county boundaries. These changes are usually the result of requests by landowners who have tracts of land in two counties and want them in one county

or who request transfer of their property from one county to another in order to secure more convenient school facilities. The 1945 legislature passed seven local acts changing county boundary lines.

Several local acts dealt with budgeting and purchasing procedures. A purchasing committee or agent was established in Bedford, Decatur and Monroe Counties, and the county judge was designated as purchasing agent in McNairy County. A budget and accounting system was established for Marshall County. Budget laws were enacted for Decatur and Hickman Counties, and the county judge of Obion County was designated as both purchasing agent and budget director. A budget control act for Knox County failed of passage.

The movement for the establishment of general sessions courts to replace justice of the peace courts continued to gain headway with the adoption of such courts by Marshall and Wilson Counties. A juvenile court was established in Hamilton County.

Other changes in county government included the establishment of the office of county attorney in Haywood and Jackson Counties, the office of county engineer in Madison County, and the office of road supervisor in Van Buren County.

Two counties, Hancock and Hamilton, were redistricted by legislative act, thus changing the number of justices of the peace. The justices of the peace constitute the principal governing body in Hancock County. In Hamilton County, however, the county manager plan has been adopted, and the justices of the peace have been largely deprived of duties in connection with county government.

M. H. SATTERFIELD
Tennessee Valley Authority

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Greater State Aid Urged for N. Y. Local Units

Moore Commission Proposes Overall Fiscal Program

A BROADENED program of state assistance to local government was urged on the New York legislature March 13, shortly before adjournment, by the New York Commission on Municipal Revenue and Real Estate Taxes, headed by State Comptroller Frank C. Moore. Under the program, most of which will be presented for action to next year's legislature, the state would assume added responsibilities for schools, take over the bulk of the cost of emergency relief and welfare and peg at \$100,000,000 annually its cash contribution to the cities, towns, villages and counties.

The commission proposes the abolition of the present system of shared taxes in favor of what it describes as "a more stable and equitable method of state assistance to its subdivisions." Exclusive of the increase in aid for education, which was studied by a separate committee, the program would increase local resources an estimated \$40,000,000 as compared with the current level partly by shifting costs to the state and partly by increasing direct grants to local units.

The chief cost to be shifted to the state is for home relief and social security. The commission recommended that the local units bear only 20 per cent of this cost, the state making up the difference between federal aid and the other 80 per cent. At present expenditure levels this would shift to the

state \$23,800,000 annually now paid by the local units.

The commission also recommended continuation of state aid for health and local laboratories, a relatively minor item, however, involving only about \$1,000,000 annually at present.

More important, at least as a change in procedure in granting state assistance to local units, was the proposal for a fixed annual cash contribution recommended to be pegged at \$100,000,000 and to come out of the state's general revenues rather than from earmarked taxes. Of the \$100,000,000, \$23,000,000 would be granted to replace motor vehicle taxes and motor fuel taxes and aid for snow removal, \$7,000,000 of this going to New York City and \$16,000,000 to upstate counties. The remaining \$77,000,000 would be evenly divided between New York City and upstate communities. The suggested distribution is as follows:

To New York City.....	\$45,500,000
To upstate cities.....	19,250,000
To upstate counties....	18,050,000
To towns.....	13,700,000
To villages.....	3,500,000

\$100,000,000

In the fiscal year ended March 31, 1944, distribution of state-collected, locally-shared revenues to the cities, counties, towns and villages totaled \$84,123,283 according to the commission.

Pennsylvania Corporate Franchise Tax Held Valid

About \$50,000,000 of corporate franchise taxes on foreign (out-of-state) corporations collected in the last five years have been saved to Pennsylvania by the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court sustaining the validity of the tax law, according to the state attorney general's office.

Constitutionality of the tax was contested by the Ford Motor Company and Quaker Oats Company which urged, among other things, that the law was in violation of the interstate commerce clause of the federal constitution. The taxpayers contended that the tax should be based only on that part of their corporate stock involved in the business transacted in Pennsylvania rather than on the entire amount. The statute had been upheld by the State Supreme Court in 1935 and a ruling by the U. S. Supreme Court adverse to the state would have been followed by actions for recovery by numerous firms.

Selling Municipal Bonds at Better Interest Rates

In this column last month comment was made on the presently prevailing low cost to municipal units of borrowing money, with the observation that many local governments shortly to sell their bonds for postwar public works would fail to reap the full benefits of low rates. Two pitfalls were cited:

1. Failure to "package" the bond offering so as to attract the most favorable bids; and
2. Failure to disclose sufficient information about the bonds and the issuer.

Naturally many of the terms to be written into the bonds being offered for sale by a city, town, village, county, school district or special district are controlled by statute. But within these legal limitations the issuing unit usually has a fairly wide scope in preparing an attractive "package" for the prospective bidder, and it will repay the local official unfamiliar with the momentary preferences of the market to consult reputable and experienced banking officials and investment bankers beforehand to make sure no costly mistakes are made.

A few illustrations of recent examples of faulty "packaging" will make clear the advantage to be gained from consideration of matters which on first sight might seem trivial.

Errors to Be Avoided

At present, for example, some errors are being committed by calling for bids on bonds to bear interest at a predetermined rate which has been set too high. Most bonds are now awarded on the basis of lowest net interest cost, and fixing the coupon rate substantially above the "basis price" or net interest cost necessitates the payment of a proportionately larger premium. The premium understandably looks good to the local unit but it has to be passed along to the ultimate investor when the bonds are retailed, and too high a premium can make the bond more difficult to retail thus causing the bidder to adjust his bid accordingly. Furthermore, a unit fixing a coupon considerably above prevailing rates invites bids above prevailing rates.

Errors can also be made in grouping issues for sale. One well known local borrower recently caused much confusion among bidders by offering simultaneously bonds issued by itself and by another local unit for which it acts as fiscal agent. The intent was to bring the bonds out together so that the buyers might be protected from another sale too soon afterwards. Actually, no less than four issues were involved, each backed by different security: one was an unlimited tax obligation of the issuer, another was a limited tax obligation of the issuer, another was a limited tax obligation of the underlying unit, and the fourth was a special obligation of the underlying unit secured by state aid. Had the borrower been less well known, a reoffering would probably have been

necessary with at least two separate sales called for.

A practice which may result in less advantageous bids is that of inviting the bidder to select one of several maturity arrangements for the bonds. A borrower recently offered two alternative schedules for twenty-year serial bonds, differing only in minor respects, with each alternative further subject to making the bonds callable either in five years or in ten years or making them non-callable. Each bidder thus in effect had to bid on six different series of bonds. The borrower certainly had his choice of offers, but it is doubtful if the terms were as advantageous as they would have been if one maturity schedule had been offered, with the bonds either non-callable or callable after a stated single period. Presumably a local government knows how it wants its bonds to mature, within the limitations imposed by law, and if leeway exists to arrange maturities etc. to attract better bids the matter should be determined by consultation beforehand and not made a subject of the bidding itself.

Other matters of "packaging" merit attention. In general, the date of the bonds might best be relatively close to the date sold, to avoid payment of a large amount of accrued interest by the purchaser. Arrangements should likewise be made to assure delivery of the bonds in definitive form relatively soon after they are sold. Sometimes wider bidding may result if a paying agent in one of the larger financial centers is named for the issue. Use of bond attorneys well known in the markets from which it is hoped to attract bidding is also helpful, as is the distribution of a complete and accurate "notice of sale" or "invitation for bids" and the advertisement of the offering not only locally but also in cities where the money markets are located.

And that brings us to the subject of disclosure of all relevant facts. As discussed last month the majority of local units now borrowing with any frequency, and the overwhelming majority of firms bidding on bonds as well as the customers to whom they retail the obligations, expect that reasonably full information will be provided about the issuer's condition. This is usually done by the preparation not only of a "notice of sale" in which the bonds are described but by a "financial statement" setting forth pertinent facts about the issuing unit's finances and—if it is a little known unit—briefly describing the resources of its community, area and population, method of operation, principal officials and pertinent provisions of the law respecting the authority for issuance of the bonds.

Financial Statement Helps

It is probably not too much to say that a good financial statement can go a long way in widening the interest of bidders, especially if the borrower is a small, little known unit and the amount of bonds involved is not especially large. Such a statement need not be elaborate or lengthy, but it will cover certain essentials: the correct legal title of the issuer, date of incorporation or establishment, area and population, description of form of government, description of debt and tax rate limits applicable to the unit (and whether or not bonds and interest are payable inside or outside such limitations) and statistics on assessed valuations, tax rates, tax levies and collections, bonded and unfunded debt and sinking funds, annual bond maturities and summary statements of annual operations for governmental and public service enterprise funds. Next month features of a good financial statement will be discussed.

Michigan Cities Seek Share of State Surplus

The Michigan legislature has now adjourned after four months of hectic controversy over the urban-rural issue and the right of cities of Michigan to a share in the assumed state financial surplus. Experienced members are finding out that to operate a state government "in the red" is a picnic as compared with getting a reputation for having a big surplus.

For a dozen reasons Detroit and the other cities have been facing reduced revenues because of declining payments on delinquent taxes, reductions in income from local services, large boosts in city wages and salaries (under pressure from organized employees), etc. In various local elections Michigan voters have turned down any and all proposed tax increases, including defeat April 2 for possible increase in the constitutional 15-mill limitation—but subject to local referendum.

When he began his second two-year term Governor Kelly was willing to "give the cities some help," but insisted on no increase in state taxes. It was a question of new formulas for distribution. But state officials generally insisted also that the surplus would be needed entirely for state purposes—returned war veterans, an increase for schools and general improvements and rehabilitation among state institutions. All kinds of bills were introduced but they only increased the heat of the confusing arguments.

Then followed a teapot tempest between state officials at Lansing and the city experts; the former declared that the state needed practically all its surplus, and in fact most of it already had been earmarked for state needs. Benjamin J. Tobin, Detroit auditor-general, insisted that the state surplus ran up to \$110,000,000, but Lansing retorted that it was less than a fifth

of that sum. Tobin admitted it was a matter of definition.

In one conference Governor Kelly said he simply would not allow putting the state again in the red. As the cities, for the first time in a generation, built a lobbying organization—which was not entirely united—they did finally win a chance to share in an increase in the tax on intangibles and to benefit by new taxes on alcoholic beverages, both liquor and beer. Proposals for a virtually unlimited excise tax to go to the cities were pigeonholed. So was the demand for a sixth of the 3 per cent state sales tax revenues, which have gone up tremendously.

When two years ago Mayor Jeffries of Detroit proposed local adoption of the Philadelphia occupational tax, the cry against it forced him to withdraw the idea. Meanwhile the Detroit mayor and council are making a budget in which, it is believed, the figures do not tell the whole story. But the total for next year apparently will be \$5,000,000 more than for the current year.

WILLIAM P. LOVETT,

Executive Secretary

Detroit Citizens League

Group to Study Manufacturing Taxes

A work group composed of Clarence Heer, Raymond Thomas, Charles P. White and James W. Martin, chairman, has been organized to promote a study of manufacturing taxation in each of fourteen southern states. On completion of these investigations by individual volunteers, a general integrating report is planned. The Southern Regional Committee of the Social Science Research Council is sponsoring the project which is already under way in a dozen states.

JAMES W. MARTIN

University of Kentucky

Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

England Makes Postwar Plans for Local Government

New White Paper Suggests Continuing Present Trends

NO radical reform but a continuation of the trends already in evidence in English local government is the prospect held out by the Government's new White Paper on *Local Government in England and Wales During the Period of Reconstruction*.¹ Among the trends foreshadowed are larger units, more use of joint authorities, more central government grants, more centralization of certain services and, concomitantly, more local government activities.

Regional authorities are not considered desirable by the government nor are universal all-purpose units looked upon with favor. Therefore, in order to adjust the administration of the numerous expanded and new services of government to larger areas if and where necessary, the government proposes to rely upon the centralization of services and an increased use of joint boards.² While it is "opposed to any general policy of centralizing services hitherto regarded as essentially local," the government does not rule out some centralization "if on the merits a good case can be shown for this course."

Again, the government does not underestimate objections to joint boards covering more than one local unit with their membership indirectly elected, but it does "not believe that the difficulties are so great as to warrant delay in the working out of the reconstruction program. The number of services in which joint planning or joint action is essential is, after all, limited, and where in the development of the program combined action is required, it should be possible to find acceptable means of insuring it. To proceed in this way does not rule out ultimate integration of the joint bodies in any area into a single compendious unit if experience should show this to be desirable."

It is proposed that a central boundary commission be set up to adjust where necessary the boundaries of local governments, except in the London and, in part, Middlesex areas. In general, its decisions would be subject to Parliamentary review. The procedures of county reviews and county borough extension bills would be abolished. The former gave county councils power to review the boundaries of units of government within the county and alter them if they saw fit, while the latter permitted county boroughs to promote a bill extending their boundaries in Parliament. The Minister of Health would be permitted to give the boundary commission general directions for guidance on broad issues.

It is expected that if such a boundary commission were set up that larger local units, rural as well as urban, would result since that was the trend under previous boundary revision methods and since many bills are being promoted before Parliament for boundary extensions at the present time.³ Bound-

¹A summary of the provisions of the White Paper may be found in the *Municipal Journal*, January 5, 1945, pp. 7-8.

²For a discussion of changes made since 1943 in local government services see "Trends in English Local Government, 1944-5," by Edward W. Weidner, *American Political Science Review*, April 1945.

³See the REVIEW, November 1944, p. 569.

ary revisions, once made, would normally be unalterable for ten years. This would make possible a certain amount of stability which would permit future planning. The entire boundary revision scheme is significant also from the standpoint of the large cities with their "overspill" areas and the trend toward decentralization.

Even though some services formerly local in character are being centralized, the scope and range of local government activities in the postwar era will be greater than ever, since many new functions are being added. This fact creates a difficult financial problem for the poorer local units. In part it can be met by larger units and by the use of joint authorities, thus creating a larger financial base for the services. A considerable financial problem would still remain, however, and the government proposes to increase central government grants to localities. A general reorganization of the financial relations between central and local units is promised in the near future with a bias in favor of the poorer authorities.

The House of Commons in discussing the White Paper welcomed the government's intention to retain the existing county and county borough framework and to establish a boundary commission.

The reform of local government has been the subject of widespread debate in England for well over a year and a half. During this time numerous individuals and groups have come forth with plans for its future, among them the Association of Municipal Corporations, the County Councils Association, the Urban and Rural Districts Associations, the Liberal National Committee, the Labor party, the Liberal party and the National Association of Local Government Officers.⁴

Four of these plans offered, in main, only slight variations from the existing local government structure—the plans of the Liberal National Committee, the Liberal party, the County Councils Association and the Rural and Urban Districts Associations. The NALGO and AMC reports called for varying plans of single all-purpose authorities, while the Labor party's proposal was for a two-tier structure.

In general the plans put forth by the local authority associations were defenses of the particular level of local government they represented. Thus the County Councils Association called for greater powers for the counties and possible elimination of those counties of less than 100,000 population, the Urban and Rural District Associations defended district units as essential and cited the need for the maintenance of their powers, and the AMC called for single all-purpose authorities much like the existing county boroughs.

Placed alongside the drastic reorganization plans of NALGO, AMC and others, including some calling for outright regionalism, the proposals made in the government's White Paper seem cautious indeed.

News from Great Britain

Elections Bill

In giving the Representation of the People Bill its third reading the last week of January, the House of Commons rejected a proposal which would have made proportional representation

group plans, see "The Structure of Local Government and Recent Proposals for Reform," by J. H. Warren, *Public Administration* (London), Spring 1944 (which discusses the NALGO, AMC, and Labor party proposals); *Municipal Journal*, May 12, 1944, p. 779 (Liberal National Committee), and *Ibid.*, February 16, 1945, p. 296 (Liberal party).

⁴For more complete discussions of these

an optional method of voting for local elections.¹

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Greater London Plan

Professor Patrick Abercrombie has completed his outline plan for Greater London—that part of the metropolis outside the jurisdiction of the London County Council. This complements his earlier report on the London County area.² Assuming a virtual ban on industrial expansion in London, the report states the problem as one of better location of the existing population and of decentralization.

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Water Bill

A Water Bill, 1945, has been introduced in the House of Commons by the Minister of Health which would give the minister central responsibility for water policy in line with part of the proposals of the White Paper on National Water Policy.³ Central and regional advisory water committees would be established to aid the minister. Local organization would not be directly affected, but some consolidation would be encouraged and, if necessary, could be enforced by the minister.

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Civic Film

To further democratic control and good citizenship, Manchester is sponsoring a film depicting the city's civic activities. Its running time will be about an hour.

* * *

Loans Bill

The government's proposals on borrowing by local governments after the

war have been put into a Loans Bill which has been given a second reading by the House of Commons.¹ Borrowing would be centrally controlled and timed under the bill's provisions.

* * *

Fire Service

A report of the conference held last November between the Home Secretary and representatives of local governments was issued the last week of January. At the conference Mr. Morrison recalled his earlier promise to return the fire brigades (which have been nationalized during the emergency) to the localities after the war, but not necessarily to the same local units. He stated he thought that to return them to the more than 1,440 localities of prewar days would be a retrogressive step. If something short of a national service were to be developed from the operational point of view *ad hoc* units would seem to meet the requirements of the service most adequately, he said. The government is not yet committed to any decision, however.

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Employee Compensation

The House of Commons has given a second reading to the Compensation of Displaced Officers (War Service) Bill. Its main purpose is to put local authority employees who are in war service when a change in functions of the authority takes place in the same position as to compensation for loss of office as employees who remained in local government employment. The bill is especially important since many changes in local government are taking place at the present time.

* * *

Industries

Glasgow is considering the creation of

¹For provisions of the Bill see the REVIEW, March 1945, p. 151.

²For an account of the earlier report see the REVIEW, March 1944, p. 133. The latest report is summarized in *Municipal Journal*, December 15 and 22, 1944, pp. 2213 and 2227.

³See the REVIEW, December 1944, p. 643.

¹The original proposals were discussed in the REVIEW, October 1944, p. 498.

a special organization to encourage the establishment of new industries in the city and to foster the development of existing ones.

* * *

Loans

The total amount of loans sanctioned by the Minister of Health for England and Wales for the year ending March 1944 amounted to £6,701,102. Loans for housing purposes increased by £1,890,070 and for public health purposes by £292,488. Loans for other purposes decreased £556,442 leaving a net increase of £1,626,116. The total amount sanctioned, however, was less than 8 per cent of the corresponding amount in 1938-9.

* * *

Finance

According to the government's White Paper on employment policy the government believes it can influence capital expenditure materially in maintaining employment by the annual submission by local authorities to the appropriate government department of five-year plans of proposed capital expenditures. These proposals would be assembled and adjusted upward or downward according to necessity determined by the latest information of the employment situation.

* * *

Police

There is protest in some quarters against the expected move on the part of the government to separate local police and ambulance services which are at present jointly operated by the police.

French Conducting Local Elections This Spring

French municipal council elections are being held April 29 and May 13 and general council elections May 20 and June 3 according to latest reports. Formerly the period between the first

and second ballots was eight days, but because of the expected large vote by mail, both military and civilian, the period has been extended to fifteen days. The second or runoff elections are held if no candidate receives a majority of the votes cast equal to at least 25 per cent of the number of registered voters.

Under the new women's suffrage provisions, 60 per cent of French women eligible to register have done so.

The cabinet at its March 9 meeting extended the right to vote in the coming local elections to Algerian Moslems living in France one year at the time of the declaration of war. Special provisions apply to Moslems living in Algeria.

Brazil Plans First Elections in Sixteen Years

General elections for Brazil, the first in sixteen years, have been announced by President Vargas, to be held probably in the fall. The elections are expected to be for president, both houses of congress, state governors, and state assemblies.¹ Instead of indirectly electing the president and congress, as envisioned under the 1937 constitution, both will be directly elected by the voters, i.e., those of either sex eighteen years or over. Previously, the indirect election of the congress and the president was in part to be handled through the municipal councils.

Actually, since 1939, Brazil has been governed by a very centralized system, with no congress, with state governors replaced by president-appointed "interventors," with state assemblies dissolved, with municipal prefects freely appointed by the state interventors, and with popularly elected municipal councils dissolved.

¹See *New York Times*, February 21, 1945, p. 11.

Books in Review

Democracy Under Pressure. Special Interests vs The Public Welfare. By Stuart Chase. New York 18, Twentieth Century Fund, 1945. 142 pp. \$1.

Pointing to more than 400 organized lobbies in Washington, Stuart Chase declares in this volume that selfish pressure groups—business, labor and agriculture—are a more dangerous threat to American democracy than the war itself. A primary job after victory is won, he states, will be “to curb the pressure groups and end the recurring deadlocks which are growing so disastrous for us all.” Despite these pressures, Mr. Chase feels that America has a better chance to preserve democracy and achieve prosperity than any other large country in the world.

Analyzing what can be done to control pressure groups and promote the general welfare, Mr. Chase suggests that publicity can be a powerful safeguard. He states that sixteen states have already adopted laws requiring lobbies to register and furnish financial statements, but experience under these laws has varied from success to almost complete failure. “Organizations of consumers and white collar workers can accomplish a good deal,” he comments.

This is the fourth report by Mr. Chase in a series of six exploratory reports under the general title “When the War Ends,” in which he gives his own conclusions on postwar questions.

School Consolidation and State Aid in Illinois. By Leon H. Weaver. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1944. 115 pp. \$1.50 paperbound, \$2 clothbound.

This study seeks to evaluate the effects of state aid policies on the consolidation of school units in Illinois and to determine by what means and to what extent state aid policies can

be used to secure further consolidation. Illinois has over 12,000 school administrative units, states the author, “more than any other state.” It has more one-teacher schools than any other state. Chapters in the study discuss some principles of grants-in-aid, present state aid system and its evolution, relation of state aid policies to school consolidation, a proposed build-ings aid program, application of various state aid plans to larger districts and the disparity between urban and rural assessment ratios.

The author concludes that: “It can be argued that merely providing an economic incentive for consolidation, in the form of local tax rate differentials [secured through state aid], will be relatively effective until education and propaganda have convinced local people, and especially rural people, that larger school units are desirable for their own sake. In answer to this, however, it is argued that if economic incentives are established, the problem of education and propaganda will be simplified, since there will be an added argument for consolidation; and that local action for consolidation is more likely to come about if there is education plus an economic incentive than if exclusive reliance is placed on hortatory efforts of officials and civic organizations.”

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Aviation

The Municipal Airport in the National Airport Program. Washington, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1945. 16 pp.

New York State Building an Aviation Future. A Report of the State-wide Aviation Conference for Planning Aviation Services and Facilities, Al-

bany, New York, January 19, 1945. Albany, New York State Association of Towns, 1945. 71 pp.

Health

The Story of Blue Cross — On the Road to Better Health. By Louis H. Pink. New York 20, Public Affairs Committee, 1945. 31 pp. 10 cents.

Local Government

Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Southern Institute of Local Government 1944. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, 1945. 60 pp.

Personnel

State Employment in 1944. By Lillian Palenius. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1945. 11 pp.

Planning

Chicago Looks Ahead — Design for Public Improvement. Chicago 6, Chicago Plan Commission, 1945. 78 pp. Illus.

The Effect of Parks, Parkways and Playgrounds on Land Values. A Bibliography. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Harvard University, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, 1945. 3 pp.

Planning and Postwar Planning — State Organizations. Membership Directory Revised. Chicago 37, American Society of Planning Officials, 1945. 39 pp. \$1.

Postwar Planning for the City of New York. A Bibliography. By M. Margaret Kehl. New York, Municipal Reference Library, 1945. 5 pp. (Free)

War and Postwar Developments in the Southern California Petroleum Industry. By Joe S. Bain. Los Angeles, The Hayes Foundation, 1944. 50 pp.

Your Convention — By Mail. A Collection of Addresses Prepared for Delivery at the War-Cancelled Convention of the Urban Land Institute, Novem-

ber 1944. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1945. 22 pp.

Public Utilities

Municipally Owned Gas Systems in Texas. 20 Cities, 1944. Austin, League of Texas Municipalities, 1944. 3 pp.

Public Works

Fiscal Significance of Public Works. By Mabel L. Walker. New York 7, Tax Institute, 1945. 6 pp. 25 cents.

Post-War Public Works Programs. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, 1944. 31 pp. 50 cents.

Preliminary Report of the Emergency Public Works Committee. Boston, Massachusetts Emergency Public Works Commission, 1944. 24 pp.

Purchasing

Purchasing in Texas Counties. By H. C. Bradshaw and E. J. Hervey. College Station, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, 1944. 15 pp.

Recreation

A Selected List of References on Athletic Fields and Stadiums. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Harvard University, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, 1945. 3 pp.

Retirement Plans

Analyses of Selected State-wide Retirement Systems for Municipal Employees. Including the Proposed Plan of the Association of Washington Cities and the Recommendations of the Committee on Public Employee Retirement Administration of the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada. Olympia, Washington, Association of Washington Cities, 1945. 14 pp.

Schools

Education—A Mighty Force. Its Role in Our Future. Washington 6, D. C., National Education Association of the United States, 1945. 16 pp.